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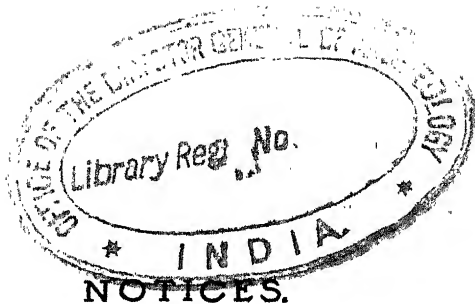
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The Publications Committee has in hand and hopes to publish during the current year the concluding sections of *The Tokugawa Laws*, translated by J. C. Hall, C. M. G.; and a monograph entitled *The Great Shrine of Idzumo*, by W. L. Schwartz, B. A.

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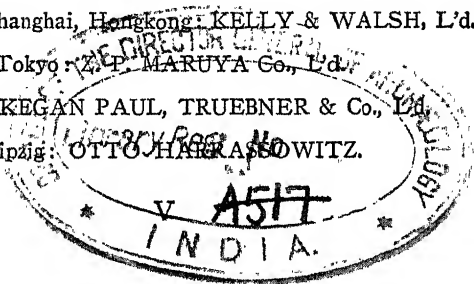
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芝蘭會新元會

宣統二年甲寅閏二月
二月一日即西曆一千九百零四年
十二月一日即西曆一千九百零三年
六月廿五日即西曆一千九百零三年

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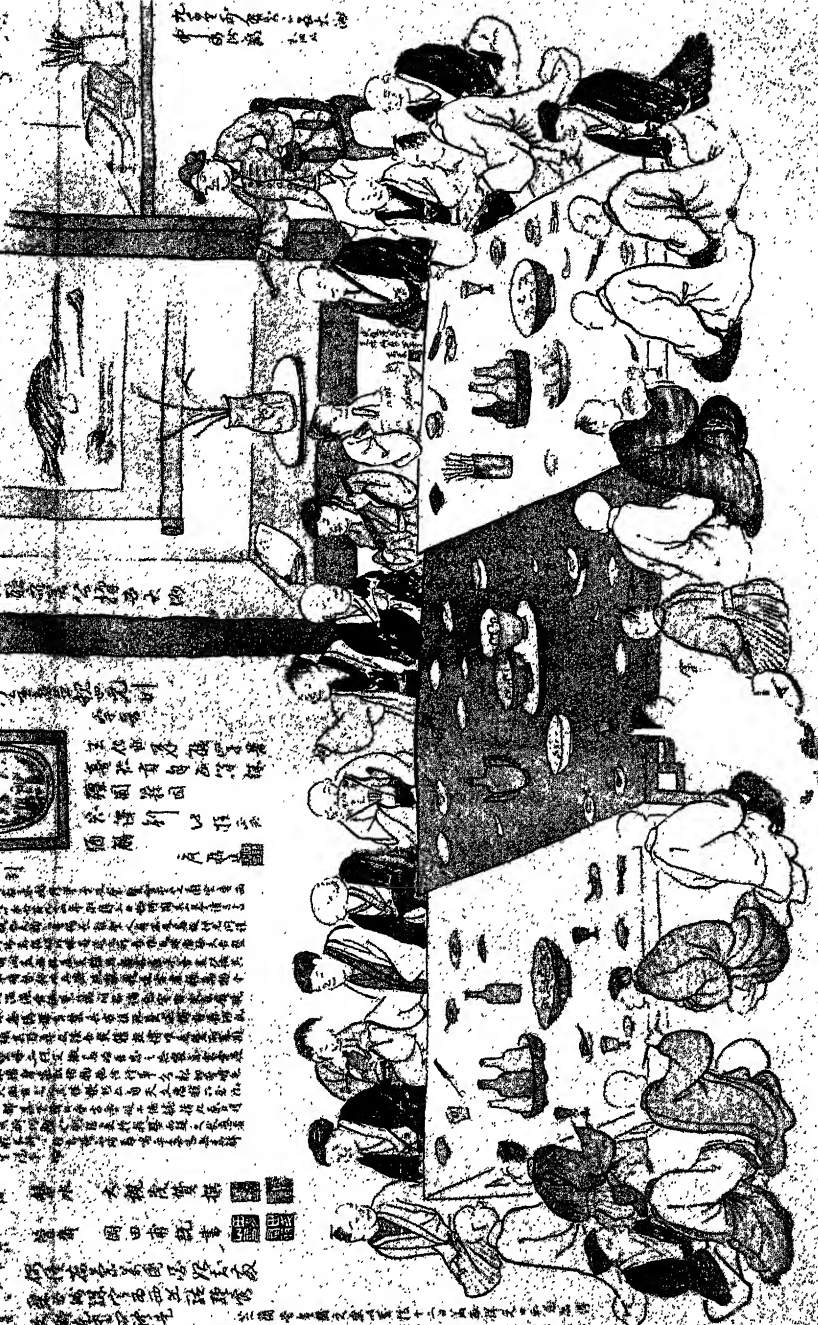
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CELEBRATION OF THE DUTCH NEW YEAR'S DAY.

Banquet of pioneers of Dutch learning held at the house of Otsuki Bansui, January 1st, 1795, to celebrate the Dutch New Year's Day. It is said that similar celebrations were held thereafter every year until the death of Otsuki Bansui in 1827. The upper inscription refers to a banquet commemorating those earlier celebrations, which was given by Otsuki's son, Bankei, on January 1, 1873, when Japan adopted the western calendar.

(The date is wrongly stated as 1794 on page 384.)

INTRODUCTION.

READ DECEMBER 11TH, 1912.

Some ten years ago while on a tour to the north of Sendai, I spent a few days at the town of Mizusawa, formerly the residence of a Daimyō belonging to a branch of the famous Date family. My friends took me to a public park of which the chief interest lay in a simple monument to Takano Nagahide, or Chōei as he perhaps is more usually called, the latter being the conventional pronunciation of the Chinese syllables for which the Chinese characters used in writing his name stand. In a vague way I knew of Takano as the author of a famous pamphlet called *Yume Monogatari* that is "A Dream"; but I did not then know the part he played in preparing for the Restoration of 1868.

In connection with the building of this monument, a life of Takano had been published, which was not for sale, my friends told me, but was given to those who subscribed to the memorial fund. The starting point of this fund, which was to be devoted to defraying the expenses of the monument and the up-keep of the park, was an Imperial donation of Yen 100.00, together with a rescript conferring upon Takano the Senior grade of the Fourth Rank. This was in 1898, forty-eight years after the famous scholar had died a martyr to the cause of enlightenment; for he fell, albeit by his own hand, a victim to the jealousy of the Confucian scholars who surrounded the Shōgun, and who were determined to check the tide of new ideas which, through the industry of the students of the so-called Dutch learning, threatened to overwhelm Japanese society.

A small subscription secured me a copy of the life of Takano, which proved of great interest, not only because it enabled me to understand the movement which Takano, Watanabe Kwazan and their associates represented, but also because

it illustrated many features of the life of the Japanese students of that time. The book was prepared by one Kenjirō Osada, and with its appendices filled about 250 pages. The biography itself is based in large degree upon letters and other manuscript sources, coming from Takano's own hand. The appendices contain some of the more important pamphlets written by Takano, who also wrote many books on various medical, military and other scientific subjects, a list of which will be found at the close of this paper ; but it is by what I have called pamphlets that he is best known. Three of these have been widely read, namely, *Tori no Naku Koe* (A Song of a Bird) which gives an account of his experiences at the hand of his persecutors ; *Ni Butsū Kō*, (A Discourse about Two Things) in which he urges the cultivation of potatoes and buckwheat as a means of averting famine ; and *Yume Monogatari*, (A Dream), all of which are so largely drawn upon in the biography that they require no further mention here.

A Japanese historian has remarked that Takano could not be looked upon as simply a product of his time. He was rather like one transplanted from another realm to give light and leading to the men of his day. He is usually associated with Watanabe Kwazan*, and the two were certainly close friends. Watanabe was perhaps the abler man. He was an artist as well as a scholar and exerted a powerful influence in favor of the new learning ; but he had little knowledge of the Dutch language and was thus dependent upon Takano and a young physician, Kozeki (or Ozeki), and others.

Takano would appear to have been the first Dutch scholar of his day. In reply to the magistrate before whom he was tried, he stated, it is said, that he had read more than 200 Dutch books. And in his studies he made excursions into many fields. Being a student of medicine in the first instance, he naturally gave large attention to the various departments of medical

* See Miss JBallard's brief but valuable paper in Vol. XXXII. of the Society's Transactions.

science ; but a glance at the list above mentioned, which includes fifty-two titles, will show a notable breadth of interest and, when the difficulties to be surmounted are considered, an indefatigable industry. He died in 1850, three years before Perry's arrival.

How far the body of men of whom Takano was a conspicuous representative contributed to the building of New Japan is a most interesting question.

It is perhaps hardly probable that a conclusive answer to this question can be given for many years to come ; for many important documents bearing on the history of the Restoration movement are, it would appear, deliberately withheld from publication. A more or less elaborate collection of reminiscences by one of the prominent actors of the period was printed some years ago, but the whole edition was taken by the Imperial Household, apparently because it was thought to deal too freely with men still on the stage. A prominent educator, however, was allowed to make use of a copy in preparing lectures to be delivered at the Imperial Universities. No doubt other persons have been similarly favored. This is but a sample of a vast amount of historical material, much of it still in manuscript, which will some day be made public.

There is also a large amount of information scattered through the biographies of such men as Yokoï Shōnan, Sakuma Shōzan, Yoshida Shōin and others, not to speak of Count Okuma's various writings. And it must not be forgotten that there are many men still living and holding conspicuous positions, whose memory runs back into the Tokugawa times, men who were in close relations with Sakuma and Yoshida, some of them their pupils.

In collating the oral statements of these men, and not less the printed reminiscences of those who have already passed away, an allowance must be made for the type of Chauvinism which characterized, one might say, the entire Meiji Period ; as well as the latter years of the Tokugawa régime. This morbid

nationalism, of course, had its counter-part in Europe and America, but in Japan, whether more or less one need not say, the type was different and centred about the Imperial Family in a unique degree, and led to a well-nigh exclusive emphasis upon the *Kinnō* (Emperor-reverencing) movement; but it is very well known that the downfall of the Shōgunate was due to the co-operation of many and varied causes, among which, it seems clear, the desire for a larger liberty was by no means the least, and this conception of liberty came to Japan through Dutch channels.

Recently an intelligent man, of the upper middle class, remarked that the knowledge the Japanese leaders of opinion of the pre-restoration days had gained of the constitution of Western states,—that they had no equivalent for the Shōgun, but had sovereigns who ruled their peoples directly,—led them to attribute the evident strength and vigor of those states to their system of government; for it is a mistake to suppose that there was in Japan very little knowledge of Western lands. First and last there were many who through the Chinese and Dutch had acquired no small amount of information about European countries, not very accurate as regards details, but of such a character as to awaken a keen curiosity and a firm belief that Japan had much to learn.

After special effort to ascertain the opinions of men now living, my conviction is that, speaking in general terms, they agree in regarding the so-called Dutch learning as a powerful factor. Most of them would say, probably, that the spread of knowledge of Western affairs operated not so much by directing their minds to the specific measures advocated by the *Kinnō* party, as by creating a new breadth of view and a spirit of expectancy which made them hospitable to new thoughts. Miss Ballard in her life of Watanabe Kwazan quotes from an address of the late Prince Ito as follows: "That the Restoration should have been combined with the opening of the country and the adoption of a policy of enlightened progress was a surprise

to all. This great and decisive step is due of course to the keen foresight of the enlightened Sovereign and the statesmen who surrounded and advised him at the time. No inconsiderable amount of credit, however, must in this respect be given to patriots and servants such as Rin Shihei (or Hayashi Shihei), Kwazan Watanabe, Chōei Takano, Shōzan Sakuma and others."

Count Katsu, one of the ablest men of the Restoration period, in his History of the Japanese Navy, referring to the influence of the letter of the King of Holland urging the Shōgun of the day to open the country, says:—

"This being the transmission of the most friendly suggestions was of no small advantage to us. As the result of this the idea that an exigency had arisen in which a navy must be created dawned upon the people and became in large degree the cause of the political changes of succeeding years." (Trans. Vol. XXXIV. Part III. p. 103).

A distinguished Japanese scholar and student of history recently remarked that the Restoration was utterly inexplicable without taking into account the work of these men.

In any thorough-going account of the new learning, it would be necessary to go back to the Portuguese missionaries; but it is difficult to secure definite information regarding the remains of their work. My own impression is that their influence, while not easily traceable, was more permanent than is usually supposed, and that a more careful study of the progress of religious thought in Japan will reveal a certain attitude of mind toward theistic belief for which a great debt is owed to those pioneer missionaries, although I confess I am not prepared to justify that impression by any specific proof.

Professor Ukita* of Waseda University names the fourth of March, 1771, as the day when the New Japan was born. It was on that day that the superiority of Western anatomical science was incontestably proved. Sugita Gempaku and Maeno Ryōtaku,

* See Chapter VIII. Vol. II. of Count Okuma's Fifty Years of New Japan, page 140.

another advocate of the new learning, were on that day allowed to dissect the body of a criminal and compare the arrangement of the internal organs with the plates in a Dutch book on anatomy.

Perhaps it will always be impossible to fix even the year of the birth; but we know that as early as the eighth Shōgun (1713-44), a beginning had been made in the study of Dutch books. Previously the interpreters had been forbidden to read, and had been obliged to content themselves with such information as they might pick up from conversation with the Dutch members of the Factory at Nagasaki; but a certain number of Dutch books had come to Japan and some of them were stored in the Government library at Yedo, and in 1839, Bunzō Aoki was appointed a lecturer in the Chinese classics and in that capacity had access to the library. His curiosity was aroused by the sight of these strange books and at length he and an associate, Genjō Noro, received permission to read them. Their struggles and only partial success have been often commented upon.* Their successors were more fortunate and were able to make their knowledge of the Dutch language tributary to the advancement of medical science.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, there would appear to have been a considerable degree of intimacy between the Dutch and the Japanese interpreters and medical students. This is well illustrated by a rough sketch of a feast to celebrate the Dutch New Year's, which we owe to the pen of Sugita Gempaku and which will be reproduced in connection with the publication of this paper. The feast occurred in 1794.

When Siebold arrived in Nagasaki, the interest in medical education had risen to such a degree, that unusual facilities were accorded him in meeting the medical students, and this soon awakened among several of them a wider interest in Western

* See Prof. Ukita's article, *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol. II., p. 136 also *ibid.*, p. 289f. Also Dr. W. N. Whitney's paper, *Trans. Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII., Part IV; Prof. K. Mitsukuri's paper Vol. V., p. 7-16; and Bammel Tōzen Shi.

learning, so that by the second quarter of the last century, the students of Dutch had divided into two more or less distinct classes, the one subordinating its linguistic study to its advancement in the science of medicine, the other seeking to provide a broad and deep channel through which there might flow into Japan the varied products of Western learning; but, as I have intimated, and as the life of Takano shows plainly enough, there was no hard and fast line of separation between the two classes, indeed, there was a real, though not always conscious, co-operation between them.

Takano belonged to the second of these classes, but out of the fifty-two books and pamphlets included in the list already referred to (see page ii.), twenty-six are treatises on medicine; sanitation etc.; two on chemistry; one on the history of Holland; nine on military science; and eight on miscellaneous subjects. We learn that one of his intimate friends, Kozeki, found among the Dutch books a life of Christ which he translated and dedicated to Watanabe; but apparently only one copy was made, and that was found and confiscated by the authorities.

Of course Takano was only one among a large group of men many of whom were hardly less zealous than he. Some were men of wide influence; for example, Ogata Koan opened a medical school in Osaka in 1838, which he maintained for twenty-four years. During this time it is said that 3,000 students were under his care. Professor Ukita in his article on "Educationalists of the Past" states that among these students were such men as Ōmura Masujiro, Hashimoto Sanai, Fukuzawa Yūkichi, Nagayo Sensai, Ōtori Keisuke, Hanabusa Yoshitada, Sano Tsunetami, Ikeda Kansai, and Mitsukuri Shūhei.

One movement in particular which was started by the physicians who had come under Dutch influence made a deep impression upon thoughtful men, namely, that of vaccination. The ravages of smallpox in ancient times were very serious, especially in the southwestern provinces. Vaccination was first attempted in Japan in the year 1839. A physician named

Otsuki in that year took the vaccine directly from a cow ; but the practice does not appear to have been to any important extent adopted, either by himself or his associates. In 1848, vaccine virus was imported through the Dutch, but it appears to have lost its virtue on the voyage out, for it proved ineffective ; but the following year, the virus was again taken from a cow and among others a son of the Daimyō Nabeshima is said to have been vaccinated. From that time forward the practice would seem to have spread rapidly, and in the year 1857, we are told that some eighty physicians of Yedo formed a society for the promotion of vaccination.* A Japanese on hearing of the anti-vaccination agitation in the West some years ago, remarked that it could not make headway in Japan, because of the sharp contrast between the distresses of the past and the comparative immunity of the present. He went on to say that in his province, Hyūga, a father in the old days hardly dared to call his children his own until they had passed through an epidemic of smallpox, while now scarred faces were rarely seen in persons under twenty-five. The efficiency of this method of restricting the dreaded disease could but create in every thinking mind the conviction that foreign science had much to teach and hence that the opening of the country would bring large benefit,

The geographical extent of the interest in the new learning is in itself impressive. As a result of a very imperfect survey of the field, I have found traces of it in the following widely separated places ;

Hakodate	Kishiwada
Ichinoseki	Wakayama
Mizusawa	Tottori
Sendai	Onomichi
Yonezawa	Hiroshima
Echigo	—
Wakamatsu (Kakuma Yamamoto)	—

* The dates here given are from Dr. Yū Fujikawa's *Nihon Shippi*.



This map is designed to illustrate the extent to which an interest in the so-called Dutch learning had spread through the Empire of Japan before Perry's arrival. There is evidence that in each of the places printed in red, there were to be found men who, while not necessarily able to read Dutch books, had caught something of the inspiration which sprang from the new learning.

Shōnai, i.e. Tsurugaoka	Chōshu
Shinano	Takamatsu
Joshu	Fukuyama
Mito	Uwajima
Yedo	Fukuoka
Mikawa	Hakata
Tsu	—
Mino	Kurume
Kyōto	Nakatsu
Wakasa	Nagasaki
Fukuchiyama	Kumamoto
Ōsaka	Kagoshima

In a few cases in the above list provinces are named, for it has not been practicable to fix the locality more specifically. In many of places named there were small groups of men who were grappling with the Dutch language. Takano himself in one of his letters mentions having a class of thirty at Hiroshima, and we know he had at different times similar classes in various other cities. Of course it is not to be assumed that any large proportion of these students were actually able to read Dutch ; but very many had learned to think of that language as the channel by which a new life was flowing into Japan and a spirit of expectancy was awakened which we may well believe was shared by large numbers who never dreamed of becoming Dutch scholars.

Among those more or less deeply impressed by the importance of the new learning were a number of influential Daimyō ; as for example, Sanada of Matsushiro in Shinano, Matsudaira of Echizen, Date of Uwajima, Shimazu Saihin of Satsuma, not to speak of many less known personages. Saihin as will be noted later is said to have been able to write letters in Dutch.* Both he and Matsudaira were in favor of opening

* There may be doubt about his writing the Dutch language. Perhaps the report is due to one or more Romanized but Japanese letters attributed to him which are now extant.

Japan many years before Perry's arrival. Saihin's relative, Shimazu Saburo, known later as an incorrigible conservative, is said to have favored the opening of the country, which was strongly advocated by Sakuma, a retainer of the above mentioned Sanada. Sakuma, with or without the approval of his lord, even urged that a foreign military man be employed to organize the garrison of Ōsaka. This report is given on the authority of the biographical dictionary published by the Tokyo Keizai Zasshi.

Perhaps the most noted *samurai* outside of the group of distinctively Dutch Scholars and the physicians of the new system who deserve notice here was Egawa Tarozaemon, a *hatamoto* and deputy in charge of the province of Izu. He with the help of Takano and others acquired considerable knowledge of Western military science and gathered about him some 4,000 men whom he sought to train according to Western methods. He also undertook to cast heavy ordnance. Another man of similar temper was Takashima who under the patronage of Shimazu Saihin devoted himself to gun casting and gunnery.

In the endeavor to estimate the part of the Dutch scholars in bringing about the Restoration, the mistake should not be made of assuming their influence to have been in opposition to that of the *Kinnō*, Emperor-reverencing party. No doubt a large element in that party raised the *jōi* (Away with the barbarians!) cry, and by their noisy shouting drowned for a while the voices of the followers of the new learning; but the deeper current of national life gradually came under the control of the men who had seen the light. In the mean time the opening of the country had brought to their aid a rapidly growing company of men who were studying in a broader way the life of the West as seen through French, German and especially English literature. The foreign communities also, whatever may have been their shortcomings, set forth in a concrete and impressive manner certain of the fundamental principles of Western civilization; but all this came, it must not be forgotten, not as an original creative force,

but rather as a reinforcement of a movement which had already gained headway,—a movement distinguished by the martyrs, Watanabe, Takano, Sakuma, Yoshida Shoin and their fellows.

These men left their impress upon the life of the nation, and when the late Emperor, a youth of sixteen, ascended the throne, the Imperial oath by which he consecrated himself for his great work was looked upon as the fulfilment of their dreams. Furthermore, the Councillors who stood beside their youthful Sovereign as his responsible advisors and the administrators of his will were largely drawn from this enlightened group. They had seen the vision of a constitutional government and however much their plans may be open to criticism in important matters of detail, and however hesitating their steps may have been at times, they and their successors have in the main advanced toward that goal.

However great the debt the nation owes to those who fostered the new patriotism and inspired young and old with a new and intense loyalty to the Throne, by means of the Shinto Revival and historical research, the men who gave direction to these new forces, and moulded the policies of the new régime certainly deserve no less the gratitude of the nation.

The oath framed in accordance with their counsels reads as follows:—*

“ 1. Deliberative Assemblies shall be established on an extensive scale, and all measures of government shall be decided by public opinion.

“ 2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the plan of government.

“ 3. All classes of people shall be allowed to fulfil their just aspirations, so that there may be no discontent.

“ 4. Uncivilized customs of former times shall be abolished, and everything shall be based upon just and equitable principles of nature.

“ 5. Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the

* The translation is that of Baron Kikuchi, slightly modified by J. H. Gubbins, Esq., lately Japanese Secretary of the British Embassy, Tokyo.

world, so that the foundations of the Empire may be strengthened.

"Desiring to carry out a reform without parallel in the annals of our country, We Ourselves here take the initiative and swear to the Deities of Heaven and Earth to adopt these fundamental principles of national government, so as to establish them by the security and prosperity of the people. We call upon you to make combined and strenuous efforts to carry them out."

This oath breathed the very spirit in which those martyrs died, and as occasion offered, the Imperial recognition was given to one after another of those who in spite of persecution and hardship had shown themselves harbingers of New Japan.

In presenting this paper to the Society, I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to those who have kindly aided me at various stages of the work, especially Mr. K. Noda, whose help has greatly lessened the labor of translation; and Mr. Yahiko Yamada, whose constant co-operation has opened to me many sources not otherwise accessible.

Acknowledgment is also owed to the present head of the Takano family, who has kindly removed on my behalf all copyright restrictions and has shared with me valuable information as yet unpublished. But in this enumeration I must not forget the sympathetic encouragement received from His Excellency, Admiral Baron Saito, Minister of the Imperial Japanese Navy, himself like Takano a citizen of Mizusawa and deeply interested in his distinguished townsman.

It might perhaps have been better had the names of unknown and relatively unimportant persons been omitted from the text, but since the field covered is still largely unexplored, it seemed fitting to adhere somewhat closely to Osada's narrative, with the thought that later studies may bring into a certain prominence many men whose names have hitherto escaped the notice of foreign writers, and that their connection with Takano may thereby come to possess interest and possibly be the starting point of historical inquiries of no little importance.



TAKANO NAGAHIDE.

This plate was copied from a portrait painted many years after Takano's death in constant consultation with intimate friends who are said to have retained a vivid recollection of his features.

LIFE OF TAKANO NAGAHIDE.

READ JANUARY 22ND, 1912.

N.B.—The Arabic numerals interspersed in the text refer to notes in the Appendix.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

Takano Nagahide* was born on the thirteenth of June, 1804, in Mizusawa, Ōshu, a town of considerable importance in those days when the means of communication with the larger centers of population were scanty. It lies some thirty miles north of Sendai, and was an appanage of the Date family so prominent in feudal Japan.

As will be seen as we proceed, he entered the Takano family as an adopted son. His father was one Goto Sōsuke, but his mother was a sister of his foster father. The young Takano was bright and intelligent and soon won the affection of his maternal grandfather who himself taught the boy the Chinese classics.

Later he was sent to the village physician for further instruction. Subsequently his grandfather while still continuing the practice of medicine opened a school in Okita, a village of the

* Takano Nagahide is more frequently called Takano Chōei. Both names are written with the same Chinese characters, which might be roughly rendered into English as "Superior Intelligence," and were given by an indulgent teacher in recognition of his attainments as a scholar.

At various stages in his career other names were given him which need not be mentioned here. He also used as *noms de plume* Kyōmuro Shujin and Kyōmu Sanjin, which may be rendered respectively "Master of the Chamber of the Morning Dream" and "Hermit of the Startling Dream," both being allusions to the *Fume Monogatari*, ("A Dream") which will be described later.

vicinity, where Takano lived for several years. His progress was such that ere long he was able to serve as his grandfather's substitute in teaching the other pupils. It was about this time that he was adopted by his maternal uncle, Takano Gensai, and took the family name.

The origin of the Takano family is not definitely known, but the line seems to be clear as far back as the last decade of the sixteenth century, when one Takano Sadokatsu is known to have been a retainer of Uesugi Kagekatsu,¹ a famous figure in those days. This Takano after distinguishing himself as a valiant warrior, for some reason not now known transferred his allegiance to the well known Date Masamune.

Takano, the foster father, had studied medicine under Sugita Gempaku² and through him had gained some insight into the Western theory of medicine and governed his practice by it. This may be said to be the starting point of the young Takano's interest in Western learning.

In the meantime, Takano's next elder brother had been adopted into the family of the same village physician, who had been Takano's teacher and who like Takano's foster father was interested in Western learning and decided that his adopted son should study in Yedo with some master versed in the new science.

Takano no sooner heard this than he decided to accompany his brother, but was at a loss how to find the means, for his foster father was not interested in the plan; but about this time there happened to be a lottery among the villagers and Takano was sent to watch the drawing in behalf of his foster father. Ten *ryo** fell to his share. Takano was greatly pleased and thought it a special gift from heaven, and made up his mind to keep it for his travelling expenses to Yedo. He said to himself, "This is no light sin against my father; but some day when I shall have made a name for myself I shall atone for this day's fault."

* This was equivalent to ten Mexican dollars and at the rate of exchange in those days was equivalent to about \$11.00, U.S. currency, or say Yen 22 00, not to speak of the relatively greater value of money in those days.

Accordingly instead of going home he went immediately to his brother and confessed what he had done and asked to be allowed to accompany him to Yedo. His father soon learned of the matter and became very angry, but yielded when he saw how firmly his son had set his heart on this project. This was in 1820, when Takano was sixteen years of age.

By this time Sugita Gempaku had died and his son Sugita Hakugen³ had taken his place as one of the leaders of the new school of medicine. Since the younger Sugita was an acquaintance of his foster father's, Takano hoped he might attach himself to him; but Sugita appeared indifferent and the young student was in great trouble.

After various inquiries he found that a physician by the name of Toda was willing to take him until he could make other arrangements, with the understanding that Takano should pay a suitable sum for his board. He appears to have committed himself somewhat hastily to this plan; for we are told that he almost immediately became dissatisfied and undertook to bring in a chance acquaintance as a substitute for himself, without any preliminary consultation with his new master. Toda, not unnaturally, was very angry when this became known.

He then went to Sugita again and told him that although he had entered himself as a pupil with Toda, who was a native of the Mizusawa region, while waiting for a letter from home, since no letter had come, and he had discovered that Toda was himself in straitened circumstances and could not afford to keep him as a free pupil, he hoped Sugita would be able to advise what he had better do.

Sugita was greatly embarrassed, but said that if he chose to come as a day pupil, he would do what he could for him. He had hoped for some more favorable proposition, but in spite of two consultations, Sugita had nothing better to offer. Hence Takano accepted the offer and entered himself as a day pupil.

He then went to a druggist, an acquaintance of his family, but found that he while not unwilling to give him his board and

lodging, would refuse to take pay. Takano then made up his mind to do his best to earn his own board, so he told Sugita that he took his meals with the druggist, and to the druggist he said that he took his morning and evening meals at Sugita's. To quote from a letter to an uncle :

" This being the state of affairs, I bethought me of the proverb 'One should be supported by one's accomplishments,' and determined to resort to the practice of *massage*, which I had learned at Hiyashiyama. So I went out every night and secured on an average about 200 cash.* So far I have earned 2,200 or 2,300 cash which has enabled me to purchase a little something at a tea house every morning and evening. So please do not be anxious about me.

" As regards my brother, although he brought many letters to Tokyo, not one of them was of any use to him. However, Goke Kazunaga, the heir of the Mizusawa land holder happens to be staying here and through his good offices my brother has been befriended by Kawamura Uchu of Zaimoku Cho, Asakusa, with whom he is now studying. This gentleman is a man of wide learning and great intelligence. Since Kawamura is intimate with the scholars, Hōsai and Kinjo, my brother has been able to meet them also.

" Returning to my own affairs, although I worked hard every night, I was sometimes unable to get my breakfasts from the tea house in the morning and was not a little troubled, and accordingly consulted with my brother. Even before this I had occasionally met his master, Uchu, and he had sometimes kindly lent me books. Thereupon I was invited to come to Uchu's residence and go as a day pupil to Sugita; but I hesitated, feeling a good deal of diffidence, still on the urgent invitation being two or three times repeated, I decided to adopt that course, though when Uchu is especially busy I intermit my work at Sugita's in order to help him. It has turned out

* The cash was a small iron coin worth about one hundredth of a cent, U.S. currency.

according to the saying of the wise men of old, 'In this world there are not devils only.' So please do not be anxious about me. (Bunsei 3rd year, 6th month, 11th day), July, 1820."

From this letter one can see how after Sugita had declined to receive him, and he had incurred the anger of Toda because of his lack of interest in his instruction, Takano fell into a state of distressing bewilderment; but for all that, he was not willing lightly to become dependent on others and so took up the practice of *massage* as a means of livelihood. It was doubtless because of this heroic purpose to maintain his self-respect that he won the regard of Kawamura Uchu.

The Kanzakiya Genzo mentioned above was a native of Mizusawa and an old acquaintance of Genzai, Nagahide's foster-father. He had come to Tokyo and had set up as a druggist in Horidome Cho of the Nihonbashi ward and was well known among the practitioners of the Dutch School. He was a chivalrous and upright man, and always took a warm interest in Nagahide and did what he could to encourage him in his plans.

At this time Yoshida Chōshuku⁴ had gained celebrity as a physician of the Dutch School. He was also called Shigenori Chokushin. At first he was a student of the Chinese School under Toki Chōgen a physician of the Shogun's court; but subsequently in connection with Katsuragawa Hoshu he took up Dutch learning with such diligence as even to neglect his food and sleep. At first he read "Certain Essentials of Medicine,"* and desiring to test the principles set forth in this book in actual practice, he spent several years in careful study. In those days the Dutch School of medicine, as it was called, concerned itself chiefly with surgery and only incidentally with medicine. Choshuku alone adopted medicine as his profession and opened an office in the Kamimaki district of Nihonbashi ward of Yedo. Much controversy was excited, but his zeal was

* The Japanese title is *Naikwa Senyo*, apparently a translation of some Dutch book on medicine as distinguished from surgery.

unflagging. Patients flocked to him and filled his dispensary, and thus there resulted a special school of medicine. Nagahide leaving Sugita, placed himself under the guidance of Chōshuku and in companionship with Komadome Masami, Oseki Sanei,* and others gave himself whole-heartedly to study and made daily progress in learning. Chōshuku in admiration of his cleverness bestowed upon him the name of Chōei, (i.e. Nagahide) the first syllable of which was taken from his own. In the ninth month of 1821, he set out for Nikko in quest of medicinal herbs, climbed Mount Tsukuba and returned through the provinces of Hitachi, Kazusa and Shimosa, arriving in Yedo after an absence of more than seventy days. This expedition was in fulfilment of the instructions of Chōshuku.

The following extracts are from two letters sent to his foster-father, Gensai, about the time of this trip in search of medicines.

“When our Lord returned on the 24th of the fourth month, I met Sojiro and gave him a letter. The other day I gave to Yasuemon also a letter, some medicines, etc. All of these were doubtless received by you long since. We are in the midst of the *dōyō*† and the heat is oppressive. This year has been extremely rainy, and in the province of Suruga there has been a flood. The Ōi River has been impassable since the middle of last month. The loss in the country districts has been very great, and I am eager to learn how it has been with you. I am glad to believe that I may offer you my congratulations on your good health.

“As for myself, there has been no change. I am devoting myself earnestly to study, so that you need give yourself no anxious thoughts about me. As I wrote in a previous letter, it is my purpose in accordance with my master's instruction to go to the mountains of Nikko with two or three of my companions,

* Oseki Sanai was, or had been, the personal physician of the Daimyō of Kishiwada near Ōsaka. His connection with Takano will appear later.

† *Dōyō* is the hot season.

early in the eighth month to collect medicines. I hesitate greatly to trouble you, but in connection with this trip I shall need money, and so respectfully beg that you will kindly send me about two *ryō*, (\$2.20).

"As regards the *gorofu** of which I wrote the other day, I am anxious to ascertain whether it is to be found in your vicinity. I would also be glad to learn about the cinnabar of which I wrote last month. Kindly write me particularly of the material of which the fishing line called *kōgami* is made. As regards the purple stone found in Saruzawa, if there is any of excellent quality, with spots all over it, kindly send me some, either in the form of an inkstone, or a paperweight, by Yasuemon, who I hear is coming here with relays of horses the latter part of the seventh month, since the Master is fond of it."

He also wished for specimens of what appears to have been copper pyrites and other striking minerals. The pyrites he evidently hoped might lead to the discovery of gold dust. At all events he was anxious that this matter should be kept secret.

He apologizes for not writing further on the ground that the district of the city in which he lived was responsible that year for the Sanō† festival, but said he would write again by the next opportunity.

In his next letter he laments the absence of news from home, gives a brief itinerary of the trip to Nikkō, and again asks for money, this time for one *ryō* only. He was hoping for a fee from a patient he attended while travelling, but as he could not expect it before the end of the year, or perhaps not until early in the new year, he was for the time sorely embarrassed.

He was no longer obliged to support himself by practicing as a shampooer, but was installed in the relatively comfortable position of a student in the house of a friendly physician. But suddenly he was plunged into grave anxiety by the severe

* What the *gorofu* may have been cannot be ascertained.

† Sanō, The Mountain King, is the name given to the deity worshipped at Iliyoshi in the Province of Omi, near Lake Biwa.

illness of his elder brother who had come to Yedo at the same time as himself. In the last month of the year this brother was taken ill and, after a distressing illness of six months during which he was tended night and day by Nagahide, he died.

In a letter written shortly before his brother's death, and still preserved by a friend of the family, he tells of the perplexity of himself and his brother. It seemed in every way desirable that the sick man should be taken home that he might receive the care of his mother ; but the fear that he could not stand the journey and might die on the road, coupled with the fact of their straitened finances, forced upon them the decision to remain in Yedo.

In the mean time, their own father had died and their eldest brother had become the head of the family ; but since he and his stepmother were not on friendly terms, she had left the family with her youngest son and was living apart, waiting for the completion of her son Tansai's studies. Nagahide most of all feared that on hearing of Tansai's death his mother might die of grief. This thought distressed him day and night.

In the ninth month of the following year, he determined to return home, since he had heard from time to time of an illness of his foster father, which confined him to his bed. On reaching Mizusawa, Gensai, his foster father, was very angry that he should have left Yedo before the completion of his studies, and refused to see him. His mother tried to appease her husband, but the old man would not yield. Nagahide on learning this made a solemn vow that even though it meant death to him, he would not again tread the soil of Mizusawa until he had finished his studies, and after a stay of three days returned to Yedo.

On his way back, as we learn from a letter to Moki Samanosuke, he met at Fukushima two men who told him they had left their homes in the north with the knowledge of their families, for the sake of learning the confectioner's trade at Yedo. Not liking to travel alone they begged him to take them as companions on the way and assist them in getting places in some

confectioner's shop. After a good deal of hesitation, at the urgent solicitation of the innkeeper, he agreed.

On reaching the capital, since in spite of considerable effort no confectioner seemed willing to take these men, a place was found for one as a servant in the household of the Daimyō of Shirakawa. Nagahide was not without anxiety in thus practically becoming surety for a person he did not know; but hoped for the best and notified the man's family of what he had done, evidently expecting news which would lighten his responsibility. Before an answer came, however, the fellow ran away with three *ryō* which he had been commissioned to pay to some creditor of his master, and also with a tortoiseshell comb valued at over thirteen *ryō*. His employers naturally looked to Takano to make good this loss, but seventeen *ryō* was a sum far beyond his means. His friends advised him to pay no attention to these demands, but since the employers appealed to the authorities, something had to be done. It was finally arranged that he should enter the employ of the Daimyō on half pay for five months, that is, half a *ryō* a month. The other half of the pay together with a small addition, seven-eighths of a *ryō*, was to be considered a compensation for the stolen money, while a single *ryō* was accepted as nominal compensation for the comb. On this basis the employers withdrew their charges against Takano, but some six *ryō* were required to pay the fees claimed by the magistrates.

His new master treated him leniently and required of him only house service, which left him so much leisure that he was able to continue his studies by means of Dutch books which his friends loaned him. Toward the end of his term in the Shirakawa household, he was permitted to visit the shrines of Oyama and Kamakura in order to pray for the recovery of his father, and on his return to Yedo he sent him an amulet procured from Oyama.

His service with the Daimyō expired on the second day of the intercalary eighth month, and he began at once to make

plans for opening an office in the Kyōbashi ward, naturally at first a humble one in a back street; but he hoped by diligent practice as a shampooer to be able to remove to a suitable place on a front street by the fourth month of the next year.

Unfortunately, the day before Takano set out for Oyama, he met on the street an old acquaintance from his birthplace, who had come to Yedo to see the sights, but had spent his money and was anxious to find something to do. Takano thought he might safely become surety for him, and accordingly arranged for him to take some humble position in the household of the Daimyō of Kokura. This fellow also proved unworthy and no sooner had he received the hand money from his employer than he ran away. Hence Takano was in trouble again and was forced to take service under the Daimyō for a time. Fortunately the service was light and he was able to practice shampooing. The Daimyō, or at least his stewards, knew Takano's former teacher Yoshida and on learning the story of his misfortunes gave him large freedom and allowed him to practice shampooing on the Daimyō's premises. During this time he had a small office and was called upon for service only every other day, and so kindly was the treatment he received that it was, as he wrote his friend, as if he were in his own house. In his joy he gives expression to his feelings in the words of an old proverb to the effect that, "If there are bad men in the world, there also good men."

Takano, nevertheless, felt greatly humiliated by his experiences and wished to keep the matter as quiet as possible until at least he should have retrieved himself by starting out as a full fledged physician, with an office in a respectable section of the city, and he redoubled his exertions accordingly.

Somewhat earlier than this, his master Yoshida Chōshuku, on the recommendation of Udagawa Genshiu, was received into the service of the Daimyō of Kanazawa. In the seventh month of 1824, the Daimyō having fallen ill at Kanazawa summoned Yoshida to attend him. Yoshida set out but was himself seized

with what proved to be a fatal illness, at Takata in Echigo, and died at Kanazawa on the tenth of the eighth month.

After the loss of his master and friends Takano turned his thoughts to Nagasaki where he hoped to continue his studies and to receive instruction from the physician of the Dutch Factory.

CHAPTER II.

STUDY AT NAGASAKI.

Japan during the period of its isolation was like a dark room, but the trade through the Dutch factory at Nagasaki was a beam of light penetrating its darkness. The Dutch learning of Aoki Konyō,⁶ Maeno Rankwa,⁷ the medical science of Sugita Gempaku and Otsuki Bansui,⁸ the mechanics of Hiraga Kyukei,⁹ the pictorial art of Shima Kokwan*—all these beams of the light of the new civilization came through the narrow chink at Nagasaki.¹⁰

Nevertheless, there had been no foundation laid for systematic instruction, no opportunity for broad investigation. Study was carried on simply by the aid of interpreters. Thus the Japanese were able to pick up a few words from the Netherlands which they jotted down in their notebooks. Hence even learning the letters was a matter of difficulty. Naturally progress in medical science was unsatisfactory and there was no opportunity for clinical practice. This was the condition of affairs when Franz Philipp Siebold arrived in Japan.

Siebold was born in Würzburg, Bavaria, in the year 1796. From his childhood he showed the instincts of a scholar. He was especially interested in zoology and botany. In his youth he thought much upon the doings of Columbus and Magellan, and longed to follow in the footsteps of Kaempfer and Thunberg and exploit the new fields of the East in the interest of natural

* Unknown.

science. On taking his degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Würzburg in 1822,* he received an appointment in the sanitary service of the Kingdom of Holland and soon after sailed for Japan. Before this Holland and Great Britain had been in conflict in Eastern waters, and as a result of Napoleon's conquests Holland's strength had been greatly weakened. Her trade with Japan had also seriously declined. In the year 1797, in order to evade the British ships of war, her vessels had sailed into Nagasaki under the American flag. In the year 1809, her goods were actually transferred to Japan in American ships. From 1809 onward, for several years no vessels arrived from Batavia, and Desima assumed a desolate appearance. From 1818, Holland gradually regained her strength, and the authorities determined to revive and extend the Japanese trade. Hence in 1823, they appointed Johan Wilhelm Dusterel (?) the head of the colony at Desima and Siebold its medical officer, in charge respectively of the diplomatic and scientific interests of Holland in Japan, since the desire to extend trade made it necessary to observe and study the political and social, as well as the agricultural and industrial, resources of the country. With this end in view, it was sought to open the way for the introduction of the literature and arts of western Europe. For the carrying out of this purpose no better instrument was to be found than the medical officer of the Desima colony, and it was as the result of this conviction that Siebold was selected and sent to Japan.

Naturally his primary duty was to care for the health of the residents at the Factory at Desima, but he hoped also to make himself acquainted with Japanese matters. With this end in view he endeavored to associate as closely as possible with the people by means of his medical practice. Since the Japanese were forbidden to enter the houses of the Netherlanders, he gave

* In the Japanese life of Takano he is said to have taken his degree in 1820. The date given above seems to be implied in the biographical sketch prefixed to the third edition of Siebold's *Nihon*.

lectures and examined patients at the houses of the interpreters, Kichō and Narahashi, and soon gained wide repute as a skillful physician and surgeon, and not only patients but students of the Dutch system of medicine came to him in great numbers.

He received permission from the Japanese authorities to open a school at Narutaki* and publicly practiced his profession outside of Desima—an unwonted privilege. As a consequence of this enlarged scope of his practice, his skill was much talked about among the physicians of Yedo, and Takano longed for the benefit of his instruction.

One day a friend, Imamura Hōan, a native of Nagasaki and a younger brother of the interpreter, Imamura Naoshiro, happened to say that he was soon to go home and regretted that he had no travelling companion. He added "Since you intend to study in Nagasaki, why can not you go with me? I will be responsible for your food and clothing." Takano was greatly pleased and after consultation with Yoshida Dōseki and Komadome Seiken, and with their approval, he accepted the proposal.

Accordingly in the seventh month (August 14—Sept. 12) of the eighth year of Bunsei (1825) he started on the long journey in company with Imamura Hōan. The following is an extract from a letter to his foster father written on the eve of his departure :

" Although I should have first received your permission, since there is no room for delay, I venture to start without hearing from you ; but I have of course, consulted with Yoshida and Komadome.

" As I have already written you, Imamura Hōan, younger brother of the senior interpreter, is about to return home, but intends to come back to Yedo next year when the Hollander makes his journey to the capital. The foreign physician is an eminent specialist and with the permission of the authorities is

* A suburb of Nagasaki.

receiving patients at his own residence. Hence many students are resorting to Nagasaki.

"Hōan being in delicate health was anxious about the journey and many students asked to be allowed to travel as his companions. He has willingly allowed me to go because we have been closely associated for several years. At first, I hesitated, but when I consulted Komadome, he said that studying in Yedo for one year was like fighting on a mat, while six months at Nagasaki was like fighting with real swords. He further told me that there were already many at Nagasaki studying at their own expense, while Hōan promises to be responsible for my food and clothes.

" 'This opportunity' he said, 'is a special gift from heaven. It will not only be a blessing to you but also to your comrades, not one of whom has studied at Nagasaki. After you have spent a year or so in company with the Dutch physician, you will perhaps be able to interpret for him. I will borrow three or four *ryō* for you from Kanzakiya, and you will be able to pay it back when you accompany him to Yedo next year.' In order to make the matter surer I went to Yoshida, only to find his advice the same. This is indeed a special blessing from heaven. If I neglect this opportunity, I shall probably never have another. You will be quite right if you are angry with me, but in coming days I shall be able to atone for this fault. I shall come up to Yedo with the foreign teacher next spring and shall return home in the summer.

"I have borrowed one *ryō* from Kanzakiya and three from Komadome Seiken. I shall return Kanzakiya's loan next spring, but I hope you will kindly return Komadome's for he is financially embarrassed. My address will be care of Imamura Naoshiro, Goto, Nagasaki. Please do not mention the matter to my mother. I shall not fail to write you during the journey and from Nagasaki.

"Yoshida and Komadome will write you about me, and I

shall be greatly obliged if you will kindly acknowledge their letters. Please tell the news to Maezawa.

“19th day, 7th month, 8th year of Bunsei.” (Sept. 1, 1825).

On arriving at Nagasaki, Takano found already there many students of medicine. In company with these men of talent he attended the school at Narutaki and had opportunities both for studying and for discussion. He felt as though he were picking up jewels on the mount of Kon,* and was delighted. He wrote to his father as follows:—

“I was intending to return to Yedo next spring, but I should like to spend another year in Nagasaki, for I have the promise of assistance from a friend. Will you not kindly allow me to do so? The Dutch physician is interested in medicinal plants and goes about to collect them, and he also goes abroad to see patients.

“I have no words with which I can properly excuse my undutiful conduct, but I shall atone for my fault by becoming superior to Sasaki Chutaku, and shall thus wipe out the shame which I have incurred, if you will only allow me another year for study. As for myself, I do not care to look for gold. My great desire is to study, no matter how poor I may be.

“How is my mother and how is Keizo? Are they still in Ojika? I have been anxious about them since my arrival here. Kindly give my regards to Maezawa.

“27th day of the 10th month.” (Dec. 8, 1825).

Takano was a stranger in a strange town and it was natural that he should be anxious about his foster father, but still in view of his father's rebuke when he returned to Mizusawa to condole with him at the time of his illness, he could not but adhere to his plan.

Sasaki Chutaku, whom he aspired to excel, was a native of Ichinoseki, also an Oshu town, and was regarded as the leading physician of eastern Japan, and had been appointed an assistant professor of medicine in the Sendai clan.

* A famous mountain of Chinese legendary lore.

In the second month of the ninth year of Bunsei (March 9th, 1826), Siebold proceeded to Yedo in the suite of the Dutch Envoy. Takano wrote again to his friends at home, but remained in Nagasaki. At this juncture he was aided by his old friend Kanzakiya Genzo.

It appeared that a certain physician, named Yamada Daien, owed forty-eight *ryō* for drugs obtained from Kanzakiya, while living in Yedo. This man had secretly left Yedo and was residing in Hirado in the province of Hizen, under the name of Matsubara Kemboku. Kanzakiya on learning of this wrote to Takano enclosing a letter which he might hand to the delinquent, in which he requested that the money might be paid to Takano.

This run-away debtor had been cordially received by the Daimyō of Hirato (the Matsuura family) and had been made the chief administrator of the clan; but in spite of his prosperity he had no thought of paying his old debt. Kanzakiya had written Takano that he might collect this money and use it to assist him in his studies. This Takano told Yamada, alias Matsubara, and added that he did not absolutely need the money, for it was enough for him if he could study, and he did not worry about food and clothing. Yamada then said "My Lord has many Dutch books in his library, but there is no one in the clan who can read them. If you would like to examine them you shall have every opportunity to do so."

Accordingly Yamada recommended Takano to his lord as a translator, and he became an inmate of the baronial mansion, and undertook the task of reproducing the scientific works to be found in the library of the Daimyō. Among these was a treatise on analytical chemistry which in its Japanese form filled twenty volumes* and was regarded as the most useful of its time.

This good fortune he duly reported to his father in a letter written in the ninth year of the Tempō Era (from Jan. 26, 1838).

* This measure of the size must not be strongly pressed, for in those days books were issued in very small parts.

The letter is in the main a repetition of what has already been given above, and contains little of importance beyond the statement that the so-called analytical chemistry contained also information regarding astronomy, geography, physiology, and other scientific subjects and was of especial value to physicians. In contrast with Takano's hardships during his student life in Yedo, his position under the Hirato Daimyō, with so many foreign books within reach, and the path to eminence in scholarship open before him, seemed fortunate indeed. Hence he ventured to ask his father to allow him to spend still another year.

Unfortunately his father became ill and died on the twentieth of the seventh month (Sept. 10, 1838). On learning of this, Takano wept and said, "I have spent many years in study, shut away from intercourse with my father and now I shall see him no more! How can I atone for my unfilial conduct? There is no other course open to me than to make a name and establish a family. Only thus can I hope to requite my father for all he has done for me."

From this time he still more diligently fixed his mind upon his translation work and abandoned the thought of returning home.

As illustrating the impression made by Takano's devotion to what he regarded as his duty to his country, it is fitting to note here a remark attributed to Hirose Tanso, a famous Confucian scholar of Chikuzen. It appears that Takano attended Hirose's lectures for some months and made a deep impression upon the master. He is reported to have said, in effect, that among all the several thousand students who had received instruction from him, Takano stood preeminent in his devotion to his country, a devotion which dominated his whole life, even his eating and drinking.

CHAPTER III.

CALAMITY.

Although the civilization of Western Europe had seemed to be swelling to a full tide at Nagasaki ever since Siebold's arrival, an unforeseen calamity came upon the Dutch community, and forced Takano to give up the plans upon which he had set his heart.

In the ninth month of the eleventh year of Bunsei (commencing Oct. 9th, 1828), Siebold had completed his period of service and was planning to return home. His ship drifted ashore as the result of a hurricane, and this led to a re-examination of the cargo, with the result that there were found in his effects certain prohibited goods.

It seems that when Siebold went to Yedo for the first time, he was visited by Takahashi Sakuzaemon¹¹ who had the office of Chief Librarian and Astronomer under the Shogun's government, who asked him many questions about foreign countries. Takahashi was widely-read and far-sighted and on learning that Siebold had Russian books and a map of New Holland, he thought it would be of advantage to the country if he should translate them and present them to the government; but Siebold was at first unwilling to loan the books. Finally, however, he prevailed upon Siebold to give them in exchange for maps of Japan and Yezo, together with an account of the products of the country, and these articles were found by the authorities in examining the ship.

Accordingly Siebold was confined in Desima, while Takahashi, the interpreters Baba Hachiro, Kichio Yoshijiro, Inomata Genzaburo and more than thirty others were imprisoned. The Shogun's physician Habu Genseki¹² was also arrested on the charge that he had given Siebold clothes with the hollyhock

crest, and had studied ophthalmology from him. This affair caused great excitement in the medical communities of Yedo and Nagasaki.

Takano said to himself, "I left my native place and cut myself off from my relatives, not even returning at my father's death, that I might investigate the principles of Western learning and thus place my own thoughts upon a sure foundation, and at the same time accomplish something of benefit to the country, and thus win a name for my parents. Just as I was about to attain my object, this calamity has fallen upon me. If now I am cast into the fire like a stone with a jewel imbedded in it, I shall leave only disgrace to my parents. It would be better to run away and await a happier time, than simply to sit down and let the blow fall."

Having thus made up his mind, he lost no time and stole away to Kumamoto where he concealed himself. But before going to Kumamoto, it would appear, although the chronology is not quite certain, that he went to a small village in the north of Kyūshū, called Takano. Under the new arrangement of municipalities and rural districts, Takano is included in the *mura* of Nakamura, in the district of Kurata in the province of Chikuzen. Here he was the guest of a physician named Takeya Genryū, as we learn by a tradition handed down in the Takeya family. Takeya although living in this retired spot had gathered about him a number of medical students, to whom he had taught a certain amount of Dutch. Takeya gladly availed himself of Takano's services to inspire his disciples with a deeper interest in the new learning. One of these young men, Nagashima Shuntei, afterwards accompanied Takano to Yedo. He died young, but left behind him his manuscript notes of Takano's lectures on physiology and therapeutics, which were reverently preserved by his family, until they were burned in a fire which destroyed the ancestral home.

An incident of this stay in the family of Takeya, would seem to indicate that this little community of students had the

habit of using Dutch names of familiar objects with some freedom. It is said that one of Takeya's domestics, a servant girl, was one day sent to the office of the village mayor on business. A young clerk, thinking to make sport of the girl, loaded down his speech with Chinese compounds which were utterly unintelligible to her. The girl in her turn said that while she did not understand Chinese very well, if the official would kindly talk Dutch, she might perhaps make out his meaning. Accordingly, to show her proficiency she pointed to several objects about the office and gave them their Dutch names, much to the discomfiture of the young man who blushed and hung his head.

The first month of the following year, February, 1829, Kō Ryōsai, Ninomiya Keisaku, Totsuka Seikai,¹³ and twenty-three others were arrested and imprisoned, but were released in the sixth month, which began July 15th, 1829. On learning this, Takano hoped he might return to Yedo; but on his way he spent several months in Hiroshima, lecturing to students of the Dutch language, and removed to Onomichi in the spring.

In a letter to Kanzakiya from Hiroshima he wrote: "It is becoming colder every day. How are you and how is your family? I arrived here in the eighth month (Aug. 29th, 1829f.), and intended to return to the capital immediately, but I have decided to remain here for a time and am now lodging in an apartment of the Minamiya, in Hirataya-machi. After escaping from Nagasaki, I went to Higo, as Fukuma Keiteki told you when he went to the capital on official business.

"Since I hear that there has been a great fire in Yedo, I am anxious to know whether your house has been burnt. If so, no doubt it has already been rebuilt. As I hear that all my friends have been burnt out I am not writing to them.

"The other day I sent you a letter via Osaka which I presume you have already received and read. Should I postpone my return to Yedo, I will send one of my pupils to attend to my home affairs.

"I have over thirty pupils and I am giving lectures every other evening. My influence is growing. Kindly address me care of Hoshino Ryōsetsu, Nichome, Sakai-machi, or care of Nakai Kōtaku, Teppoya-machi.

"These two gentlemen are of especial assistance to me. In the near future I shall succeed in carrying out my purpose and shall receive the reward of my past hardships. It is impossible for me to write all that I long to say. Moreover, the carrier objects to long letters."

This letter was dated the second day of the tenth month of Bunsei (Oct. 28th, 1829). The reader can readily learn from it not only his experiences after his escape to Kumamoto, but also the ardent hope with which he looked forward to the time when he might make an impression upon Japan by the practice of medicine which he had studied for ten years. In referring to affairs in his native place, he doubtless had in mind the death of his foster father which had occurred three years before. The widowed mother and her daughters were pecuniarily embarrassed and were impatiently waiting for Takano's return, and yet he was still wandering about in search of Western learning.

In the spring of the first year of the Tempō Era (1830), his relatives held a council and decided to send on Ono Ryōsaku who had been a student of Takano's foster father, to find him and if possible to persuade him to return home. On learning from Kanzakiya that Takano was at Onomichi, Ryōsaku set out at once, and travelling night and day arrived at Onomichi, the seventh day of the fourth month, (May 28, 1830). He delivered his message, and Takano wrote to one of his relatives that he would return in the autumn. On the twelfth of the next month (July 2) he started in company with Ryōsaku for Kyōto via Osaka.

At this time there were in Kyōto a number of students of the Dutch learning. Among them were Shingu Ryōtei,¹⁴ Koishi Genzui,¹⁵ Komori Genryō,¹⁷ and Fujibayashi Taisuke,¹⁸ and since the Dutch system was very popular there, Takano called upon

these distinguished men and entered upon friendly relations with them. Fujibayashi in particular became an intimate friend. Takano and Komori studied together under Unagami Zuiō.¹⁸ Komori practiced medicine but Fujibayashi was engaged in the translation of Dutch books. The latter hired a house for Takano in Kiyamachi that he might lecture to the students of Dutch. Hence the return to Yedo was postponed.

The following is from a letter to his uncle Mogi Samanosuke :—

“I assume that you are in good health and are prospering. I left Onomichi in the province of Bingo on the twelfth instant and on my arrival in Osaka on the nineteenth I visited my fellow students of Western learning. On the twenty-second I started for Kyōto by boat, going up the Yodo River, and arrived there on the following day.

“My plan is to go home soon, but since I simply passed through Kyōto on my way to Nagasaki, I should like to call upon the famous teachers of the city and consult them upon my future, and shall therefore remain here for a time. Through the good offices of Fujibayashi Taisuke, I rented a house yesterday in Kiyamachi belonging to one Tsuchiya. Komori is associated with me and there are four students living with us. In a few days I shall begin to lecture and it has been arranged that the students of Komori Koishi, Fujibayashi, and Shingu, the Dutch scholars, shall after a time come to my lectures. I shall not remain here long, and as for my lectures I am not giving them as a matter of choice, but I am forced to do so.

“Since I am anxious and troubled about my family affairs I will take the liberty to write the details another time, and only send this letter to inform you of my arrival in Kyōto.

“Tempo, 1st year, 5th month and 29th day” (July 19, 1830). This letter is now in the possession of Mogi Sadagoro.

It is plain that Takano's ambition was to spread Western learning as far as possible, in the hope, as his biographer puts it, of uprooting ignorance and of moulding the character of the

nation, not merely to cure diseases and save his countrymen from premature death. This resolve necessitated the establishment of his family in Yedo, for it would be impossible to carry out his plans if he should take the urgent advice of his family and settle in Mizusawa. Still he owed much to the Takano family, and he could not but realize that if he should remain in Yedo, he would seem to be an ungrateful son. Even in his dreams, he pondered upon this matter, but eventually his mind was made up and he sent Ryōsaku back to his relatives with the following letter:—

“Your letter by hand of Ryōsaku which you all signed was duly received and read. It is now autumn, and in the morning I can see the frosty peaks of the mountains around Kyōto. No doubt my native mountains are already covered with snow. I congratulate you on your continued health and prosperity. I am also in my usual health. I intend to return home as soon as possible, but I have not been well since my arrival in Nagasaki and am in low spirits. I am also suffering from a pain in my foot. Hence I am obliged to remain in Kyōto. Since I am weak and sluggish, I have not yet completed my medical studies; but I have made a little progress in the Dutch language in these years. For this reason I have decided to give my life to this study, for I am too weak to hope to succeed in the medical profession, indeed, I feel that I have wasted several years in the attempt to prepare for it; and I can not in words express my deep regret; but I have never failed in my attempt to atone for my lack toward you, by some small service to the authorities.

“It is very clear to me that I can not accomplish what I have in mind unless I establish myself in the capital. It is hard to explain this by letter, but Ryōsaku will tell you how it stands in my mind. When my plans are once carried into effect, I shall not only render some little service to the Mizusawa clan but also to the country at large. I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly take this into consideration. Even should I

return to my native place I could not practice medicine on account of my delicate health. It is my wish to return to the Eastern Capital on account of my health. As I spent many years there I have many friends there, so that on their account also it is advisable for me to reside there, since their influence will facilitate my work for the country. Although I wrote that I would return home this winter, it is quite impossible for me to do so, on account of my ill-health. Accordingly, I should like to adopt one of Wakayanagi Abe's children, for I understand that he has several, and I would live with my two mothers in the hope of thus discharging my filial duty.

"It is not my purpose to serve any clan whatever, but this is not that I have lost my interest in Mizusawa, because it is a remote village, or that I despise the small allowance which would come to me as a *samurai*; for I have made up my mind not to serve my clan, nor any lord whatever. How could I leave the Takano family to which I am so greatly indebted?

"I should like to live with my foster mother and thus discharge my filial duty, in the hope that I may repay one in a thousand of the debts which I owe to my deceased father. Ryōsaku will tell you further of my plans. I trust you will allow me to become *inkyō* (that is to resign the headship of the family).

"Tempo 1st year, 9th month, 24th day." (Nov. 9, 1830).

Ryōsaku returned to Mizusawa and Takano went up to Yedo. Chio daughter of Gensai was Takano's betrothed bride, that is when he was adopted into his uncle's family, it was with the understanding that he should become the husband of Chio, who while awaiting the return of her husband was serving as the consort of Tanemori, the lord of Mizusawa. On learning that Takano had no intention of returning, it was decided by the family council that Chio should become the adopted daughter of Takano and that a certain Genkyō should be called as her husband and thus become the head of the family in Takano's stead; but unfortunately Genkyō ran away on the eve of the

proposed marriage, and this led to a revival on the part of the relatives of the effort to induce Takano to return. In a letter to Mogi Samanosuke, Takano writes:—

“I am now *inkyō* and am weak. I can not return to the service of my Lord. As for O Chio, she is my daughter. I can not marry her; but since you have my seal, although I am far away, you can do as it seems best. It appears advisable to divorce Genkyō and find a suitable successor. But at this distance I can not advise, and I can not leave matters here undone. You must consult Mr. Saoji. Even if I should go to Mizusawa, I should have to come back to the capital, since I have decided not to re-enter the service of my Lord. It is a question whether were I to return home, I could regain the position I have won here; so I trust some way may be found to keep up the Takano family.

“As to Ryōsaku, I did not spend the money which he brought for my travelling expenses to Mizusawa, or at least only three bu * which I spent in travelling to Kyōto.”

“Tempō 1st year, 11th month, 5th day” (Dec. 19, 1830).

At this time Takano was living in Kaizaka-Cho, Kojimachi, and the door seemed to be open to the realization of his ambitions. In the letter from which the above is quoted, he had said that it would be like death to him to return home, because he feared he could never regain the advantage which his absence from the city would cost him. This was hardly too strongly stated. The following letter to O Chiō throws still further light upon his feelings.

“Through a letter just received from Maezawa I was glad to learn that our Lord and all our family friends are well.

“You and my mother have been, I hear, greatly troubled by the unexpected turn affairs have taken. I, too, have been full of anxiety and have been out late at night to consult my friends. Indeed I hardly know what to do. As for myself, I can not leave Yedo even for a day; but I am by no means

* Nominally seventy-five cents U.S. currency.

indifferent to this question which concerns the maintenance of my family line. You are now legally my daughter and hence I can not marry you. Neither can I serve my Lord, for I am so weak that I could not move, even though I were to return to my native place. Through my messenger, Saburobei, I have already told this to Maezawa.

"I hope you will marry a good husband who may become the head of the family. For all these troubles I am responsible. You are displeased, and my mother is angry with me. Pray forgive me and intercede with my mother for me. Happier times will come. I can not write what I long to say. Please talk with Maezawa. Even though I do not return home I hope the Takano family can be kept from extinction.

"I am sure you will not take it amiss if I do not resume my place in the family, for it would be like death for me to give up my prospects here. My Lord is no doubt angry with me, but I think my stay here will some day be seen to be true loyalty to him."

Late at night O Chio read this letter by the light of a candle. What were her feelings? Who can tell?

It is said that when Ono was sent to Ononichi to bring Takano home, O Chio and her mother pawned their clothes and hair ornaments for some tens of *ryō*. This seemed to have been paid over to Takano for his travelling expenses; but it would appear that Ono spent it on himself. O Chio shed tears and embraced her mother, exclaiming that if Ono had only paid over the money, Takano would have come home!

It is often said that man's ambition never runs parallel with the happiness of the home. It was certainly true in the case of Takano and O Chio.

However on seeing that Takano could not be induced to withdraw his decision, the relatives adopted the second son of one Hashimoto as O Chio's husband and the head of the family.

Subsequently, Takano sent for his mother and they lived

together in Kaizaka-Cho, Kojimachi. He taught Kanzakiya to prepare drugs and thus discharged his obligations to him.

One of the Shōgun's physicians, Matsumoto Ryōho, who entertained a great respect for Takano's talents and scholarship, loaned him the money necessary for opening a dispensary, and encouraged him to take up the work of translation. In the third year of Tempo (Feb. 26f., 1832), he published a book called the "Essentials of Medical Science" and a work on anatomy, the two filling twelve volumes. These books brought Takano a great reputation. In the main they are reproductions of certain Dutch treatises of the day.*

CHAPTER IV.

A DREAM.

At about this time certain of the former students of Siebold came up to Yedo and won much fame as physicians, but Takano did not care to associate with them. His thoughts were absorbed in his plans for the promotion of the welfare of his country by introducing the new knowledge from western Europe, and he gave himself heart and soul to translating and lecturing. He won many friends of whom Watanabe Kwazan was the most valued. Watanabe was a native of Tahara in the province of Mikawa and was one of the principal retainers of the Miyaki Clan. As a child he was not interested in the usual plays of childhood. At the age of eleven he happened to be crossing Nihonbashi bridge as the Daimyō of Okayama came along with his retinue. For some reason he was beaten by one of the retainers. Whereupon he said to himself, "He is a man, but I am also a man. He imperiously passed along the public

* The authors' names as spelled in the *kana* are Dérahaie, Riyūmenhiaku and Rōse.

street accompanied by such a troop of vassals while I suffer shame! Can not I distinguish myself if I so resolve?"

Watanabe had intended to become a Confucian scholar, but the means at his command were not sufficient. Hence he gave himself to the study of painting under Kaneko Kinryō, Tani Buchō (1763-1841) and others, and was regarded as a skilful artist. He was a sober-minded, sincere man with a certain element of greatness about him. While he called himself an artist, he gave his chief attention to the progress of society, and was the associate of men of high aims. He gave himself to the study of administration and politics. Too busily engaged in public business to become a student of the Dutch language, he listened eagerly to the lectures of Takano and other Dutch scholars on history and geography, and took notes of what he heard from them. He persuaded the younger brother of his Daimyō to befriend Takano and his fellow scholars, and to study Dutch under them.

There were at this time many in Yedo who were interested in Western learning, and among them were a number who studied military science with the view of defending the country from foreign aggression. Some also were students of geography and history, while others still sought to develop the resources of the country by acquainting themselves with the agricultural science of the West.

These students at last under the leadership of Watanabe organized a society called the "Old men's Society," although all the members would seem from a Western point of view to have been relatively young men.

In the tenth year of Tempō (1833) there occurred a serious famine, due to the failure of the cereal crops to mature on account of continued cold and rainy weather, and people both high and low suffered greatly and thieves and robbers became numerous. The famine was especially severe in the eastern and northeastern provinces. It rained from spring to autumn, while in the seventh month a great storm uprooted trees and destroyed

houses. The price of rice rose so high that one *ryō* would procure only three *to* and a half (i.e., one and three-fourths bushels, approximately).* The famine was severely felt throughout the empire, and both the Shōgunate and the clans helped the suffering people by distributing rice and other cereals held in store and by limiting the price at which they should be sold by private parties; but the relief was inadequate. Takano perceived that these measures of the government were of necessity merely temporary and saw the need of some plan for preventing such calamities. There will always be, he assumed, the liability to storms at the equinoxes. If they come when the crops are not yet harvested, famines will occur and men will be forced to eat the bark of trees and other unwholesome things, and those who die from unsuitable food will be more numerous than those who die from starvation. But near the North Pole, the earth is soft for only one month of the year, but the people of those regions manage to subsist because they have crops which ripen quickly. Hence if we might obtain seeds of such sort they would in the temperate zone ripen several times a year, and so would prevent famines and their attendant diseases. Taking the potato and buckwheat as his text, he wrote a book called *Nibutsuko* (Thoughts about two things) and this was widely distributed among the people. In this book he explains the nature, use, method of cultivation and mode of cooking these foods. In the Preface he wrote,

"It rained continuously from March to August, with the exception of a few fine days. The temperature was below the average: there were serious floods throughout the country: the price of rice rose very high and the people became greatly excited and alarmed. In the middle of August, I met Fukuda Sotei of Sawawatari in the province of Kōzuke, who is an hereditary physician for infectious diseases. He is well versed

* These figures illustrate the great change in the purchasing power of money. The quantity of rice mentioned would during the early summer of 1912 have cost about 7.75 *yen*. The *ryō* contained about twice the amount of gold in the gold *yen*.

in medicine, reads Dutch, and is an ardent student of science. He is one of my intimate friends and as we were leisurely talking together one evening, he showed me a kernel of buckwheat and said :

“ ‘ The reason why men die in years of famine is that they do not have crops which ripen several times a year. Buckwheat will mature three times each year. Is it not a gift of Heaven for the salvation of the people? ’ I thanked him and said, ‘ Those living in the Arctic regions choose cereals which ripen early, and I have hoped to bring such from that distant region that they might yield these crops. Now you have shown me what I want close at hand. This is your gift, but it is none the less the gift of Heaven. ’

“ Afterwards a certain Yanagida furnished me with a kind of tuber called *jaga tara-imo* (Java potato). When boiled it is like the yam. It is delicious, nutritious, and in every way suited for food. There are certain parts of Holland where it constitutes the principal food of the people. Unlike the sweet potato it is not sensitive to cold and can be grown in different climates and in various soils. It is also very productive, a single potato producing several times tenfold.

“ These two articles I was extremely glad to find, and am convinced that we can forestall famines in no better way than by encouraging the cultivation of buckwheat and potatoes. The distribution of rice and other cereals can save temporarily a village or perhaps a district, but the introduction of these new crops might protect the whole country from famines for generations to come. Hence I gave out for publication what I had learned from Dutch books about the cultivation of the two crops and their preparation for the table.”

Takano was at this time preparing an extensive treatise dealing with the infectious diseases which so commonly follow famines ; but the condition of affairs was so threatening, that he concluded to publish the more essential parts of it under the title *Hieki Yōho* (Important rules for guarding against infectious

diseases). These two books saved many people from starvation and disease.

Among Takano's friends at this time was one Endo Katsusuke, a man of great physical strength, a skilful swordsman and well versed in military affairs. He grieved over the degeneracy of the times, and especially the fact that the military men of the day were false hearted, while those who gave themselves to literature contented themselves with poetry and rhetoric. When he saw that Takano and Kwazan were not less eager than himself to reform society and that their literary labors were inspired by this practical purpose, he associated himself with them and wrote several books on the famine and on economy. As a result certain of the daimyō whose clans were suffering most severely sent to him for advice, which he would give after consultation with Takano and Kwazan.

In cases of special perplexity he would call together the distinguished scholars of the capital for a general discussion. As a result, his evident sincerity and the value of his counsels made a deep impression upon the community. Thus through him the influence of Takano and others upon the clans increased and their freshest thoughts were disseminated throughout the country.

On the tenth day of the tenth month, in the ninth year of Tempō (Nov. 26, 1838), one of these gatherings took place, with special reference to learning about a hydrographic instrument invented by two men, Uchida Yataro and Okumura Kisaburo, who had studied navigation under Takano. Takano was not well, but forced himself to go because he was interested in the work of his students.

When the discussion closed the sun was just setting. Only fourteen of the company remained. Among them was a *hatamoto* named Haga Ichisaburo, who was a clerk of the Council of the Shōgunate (Hyōteiō). On being asked about the doings of the Council, he took from his sleeve a document and said that it seemed to him a matter of importance to the

State and so he copied it. The document was a resolution which had been adopted by the Council with regard to the anticipated coming of what was thought to be a British Man-of-war.

It appears that the Captain of a Dutch ship which had recently arrived at Nagasaki, had brought the report that a British ship was soon coming to Japan with several Japanese sailors who had been carried out to sea in a storm and had found refuge in Singapore. On receiving this report the authorities referred the matter to Yedo, and inquired whether this vessel should be treated in the same way as the Russian vessel which in the Bunkwa period (1804-16) had visited Nagasaki. The decision was that the ship should be driven off, and if an attempt were made to make a landing by force, that the invaders should be resisted and if necessary the ship might be destroyed and all hands killed; that ships from China, Korea, and the Loochoos should not be interfered with, but that since it would be difficult to distinguish between the Dutch and other European or American vessels, no blame would attach to those who might unintentionally interfere with the legitimate trade of the former; that the castaways, of whom there were understood to be seven, should not be received, but should be delivered to the Dutch Captain to be brought to Japan on his next trip.

The vessel in question, although called a man-of-war, was a simple merchant vessel, the brig "Morison," which had been chartered in Singapore for the purpose of bringing over the castaways with the hope that the visit might open the way for trade with Japan.

All who were present were greatly surprised when the document of which this is a summary, was read. Quite a discussion followed in which Takano and Kwazan took part.

Among other things attention was called to the fact that England was the most powerful country in the world, and also to the place which Dr. Morison held in China. It was thought by those present that the authorities had confused Morison the

man with the ship, and that as a matter of fact the British, in order to emphasize the importance of the mission, had put the vessel in charge of Morison as a special envoy. Attention was called to Morison's long life in China and his familiarity with Chinese affairs and his distinguished position. They regarded this alleged confusion on the part of the authorities as a sign of the gross ignorance of the Japanese government. It was felt that should the attempt be made to carry out the decision of the Council, it could only result in disaster and bring great discredit upon Japan. They felt that the knowledge they had gained of Western affairs created a special responsibility to make public the ignorance and incapacity of the government.

Accordingly Takano at once wrote the *Yume Monogatari*, which may be freely translated as "A Dream." In this pamphlet he discussed the disadvantage of excluding foreigners from Japan, and gave an account of Morison in the form of a dialogue. The follow is a free translation.

A DREAM.

It was late one winter night. The voices of men were stilled and the echo of their footsteps was rarely heard. The door of my room creaked in the wind. With my mind engrossed in thought, it was not easy to sleep and I was leaning upon my desk trying to read a book by the light of an oil lamp. At length my eyes were weary and I began to doze away. I seemed to be urged to enter a large room where some scores of scholars were gathered, talking upon various subjects.

One man said to his neighbor: "A Hollander has recently given notice that one Morison, an Englishman, is about to enter the Bay of Yedo to propose that the country be opened for trade; but under the pretence of bringing back to Japan castaways. Now what sort of a country is England?"

His neighbor replied: "England is an island about 118 nautical miles north of Amsterdam, the capital of Holland. With a favoring wind the voyage is made in about twenty-four

hours. England is said to be about as large as Japan, but her population is smaller than ours, being only 17,706,000. Perhaps as the result of the cold climate, her people are manly, industrious, and persevering. They are diligent in study, well versed in the arts, and in military affairs. They esteem it their duty to make their country rich and the state strong. Since the sea off the shore is shallow and the coast rocky there is little fear of invasion, and hence during the European war her people escaped the calamities which befell continental countries. London, the capital, is reported to be extremely prosperous. The streets are beautiful and the population about one million. The city is well situated for foreign trade and its ships sail to all parts of the earth. Her people cultivate sterile regions in foreign lands, increase their population, educate the peoples and make them pay homage to the British Sovereign. The total population of her dominions numbers 74,240,000, and their area is four times that of England. Her foreign possessions are: (1) North America, which lies to the west of South America; (2) East India; (3) Southern and Western Africa, (4) New Holland, which lies far away to the south of Japan; (5) South America near to Brazil, and California, which lie east of Japan; (6) Mogul in Tenjiku (India), south of Yunnan and Siam; (7) East India including the islands of the sea near Japan, from the vicinity of the Bonin Islands southward.

"To all these islands England sends her officials to administer their respective governments. Their ships are warships, and it is said that one ship is armed with as many as forty or fifty guns, fitted for "stone and fire weapons" (Seki kwaya?) The total number of warships is 25,860. The higher officers on these ships number 178,620, and lower officers 406,000. The total including sailors, colored attendants and cooks, is about 1,000,000. So enormous is the number on board these ships.

"The English are especially skilful in navigation and in naval prowess, and their trade extends to many foreign ports.

There is no other country like England and she is envied by other countries.

"For a long time she has had commercial relations with China and has been granted territory near Canton where she has established a settlement and appointed a Governor-General and other administrative officials. Every year her ships bring to Canton the products of the South Seas and America, and exchange them for tea which is sent to England. She also has acquired land in Yunnan and Siam and since the natives of these dominions often invade the neighboring countries, which are tributary to China, the Chinese are unfriendly to England. The Portuguese and the Hollanders also trade in Canton and because of trade-rivalry they are jealous of the English and speak evil of them.

"Both Portugal and Holland aided China at the time of the Revolution and in recognition of their services were each granted territory and are consequently on friendly terms with China. Hence Chinese not unnaturally take their point of view and dislike England.

"For example, toward the latter part of the Konryu period (1736-96), England's trade at Canton greatly declined and it was decided after much discussion that it must be abandoned. Tea, however, had become an important article in the food supply of England, and although it was grown in India and in America, those countries produced an inferior quality quite insufficient to meet the demand. Accordingly the question was reopened and it was discovered that the difficulty lay not with the Emperor but with the local officials at Canton. Hence they decided to send an ambassador to Peking and appeal to the Emperor and that tribute (*mitsugi*) should be taken to the Emperor Kakei on the occasion of the Imperial birthday. The Earl of Macartney was appointed Ambassador and in his suite were specialists in astronomy, geography, medicine, etc., who carried with them books, instruments, and other things connected with their specialties.

"Four ships conveyed the Embassy to China, one each for the Ambassador and the Vice Ambassador, and their suites, one for supplies and one as a convoy. It was said that these four ships would also make a friendly visit to Japan and Korea on their way to China, and that they would bear credentials with that purpose in view.

"The Embassy was successful so far as its direct purpose was concerned, and the trade with Canton improved, and at this time among the European firms in that city, the English are the largest."

The questioner then asked whether Morison were a well known man. "Yes" replied his neighbor, "he is an Englishman of talent and learning. He was appointed a professor and received an annual salary of five or six thousand *koku* of rice. Regretting that England was disliked by China, he went to Canton some twenty years ago for the purpose of bringing about a better understanding. He has already translated the *Goshu Inzui* into English and published it. He has made such progress in the study of the Chinese language that he can write it fairly well. He has lately become very well known and has been appointed to a position like that of Inspector-General of the trading officials. I hear that he is training from 20,000 to 30,000 sailors; for he has charge of all the warships in the South Seas. If this be true his rank is, I judge, equivalent to that of a daimyō of 50,000 *koku*." *

"How about the castaways, whom the authorities have order to be delivered over to the Hollanders?" "Since England is Holland's near neighbor, she undoubtedly knows all about our affairs. Some time since a transport from the province of Bizen went ashore on the India coast, the castaways were sent back through the Dutch. This time, however, they are to be sent back on board an English vessel under the charge of this high official, although one might suppose that

* The *koku* is approximately five bushels.

almost any one might do for such an errand. This I can not understand. Can you explain it?"

"Of course there must be a reason, but it is difficult to say just what it may be without having the opportunity to confer with any Englishman about it; but if I may hazard an opinion it is this: England has before this endeavored to open trade with us and to conclude an arrangement by which the English may purchase fuel and water in case they happened to sail along the coast of Japan. The English language and the character of the English people are quite unknown to us, so that we can not understand them. Our government regards England as a pirate and will not listen to their proposals. Hence when English ships appear off our coasts they are to be driven away by guns and cannon. Such treatment has never been found anywhere else in the world.

"It is now the intention of England to appeal to our government through the medium of the Chinese language as written by an Englishman, in the belief that she has hitherto been misrepresented by the people of Holland in the interest of their own trade. Probably she will make the most of these castaways, because our government would not listen to her proposals if they were made directly. The reason why the English authorities sent the preliminary message through the Hollanders is, we may assume, that our officials may recognize the ships and they may thus avoid being attacked.

"The reason why the ships are to come to Yedo rather than to Nagasaki, is probably similar to that which led the recent English Embassy to proceed directly to Peking by water. Morison will proceed to Yedo, because he wishes to deal directly with our government without the intervention of the Hollanders. It is quite impossible to admit other foreigners under our government's policy. Morison will be driven away, for we do not permit foreign ships to come near our shore. What will the English think of this?"

The neighbor replied: "To save the lives of men is con-

sidered the highest virtue among European nations, for the governments entertain sincere love for their subjects. For example, when the English warships were being defeated during the bombardment of Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, one of the ships was on the point of sinking and so the commander asked the Danes to cease firing, on the ground that there were many Danish captives on board. So the firing was stopped, lest the Danish prisoners be killed. The ship was then repaired and retired from the fighting line. It is the habit of European states not to fire on the ships of their enemies should there be any of their own subjects on board.

"Now England is neither an enemy nor a friend of Japan, in fact she is a stranger and yet she is willing to take the trouble to bring back these castaways from over the sea for the sake of humanity. Should our authorities drive her ships away, it may lead to great damage to our shipping; for there are many islands relatively near us which are under England's control and her ships are continually passing to and fro. Her enmity would be a great calamity to Japan.

"However untrue the imputation might be, she will surely regard us as barbarians if we drive her ships away, and Japan will lose the name of *Gikoku* (Righteous Country) and the glory of her chivalry will die away."

The first speaker then said, "What can be done? Of course the responsibility rests with the government, but its bearing on the prosperity of our country is most serious. May I ask what in your opinion ought to be done?"

The other replied, "Surely this is a matter of government concern, but inferior though my position is, I will venture to tell you my view of the matter; for as the old saying goes, 'Something is better than nothing.'"

"On the face of the matter the English are coming to bring back the castaways on the ground of humanity, and whatever other purpose may lie back of that, the authorities should take them at their word and should receive the castaways from their

hands. If it is not permissible for them to enter Yedo Bay, they should at least be cordially received at Nagasaki, and should be handsomely rewarded for their kindly treatment of our countrymen.

"In my humble opinion since the Hollanders have been granted the privilege of serving as intermediaries between us and foreign countries for the purpose of trade, it is not for their interest to disclose important matters concerning the trade of their client nations. Hence we are kept in the dark regarding trade conditions in China, Russia, and other foreign countries.

"Now that the English are desirous of opening commercial intercourse with us, they are more likely to tell us what it is desirable for us to know about the state of affairs abroad, without trouble to ourselves. This would be a stroke of great good fortune and should advance the prosperity of this Empire. We might then accept their first proposals and need not necessarily agree to their request for permission to trade. Thus we should not be thought lacking in humanity, and they on their side would have no ground for irritation and thus the matter could be settled satisfactorily.

"In the Bunkwa period (1804-17) the Russian Ambassador who came here to make a treaty of comity was so humiliated by his failure that he committed suicide on his return home. Later one of his lieutenants* made great trouble in Yezo by way of revenge, to the great loss of our government.

"Morison, however is quite a different person. He has fixed his residence in Canton, and exercises control over many warships. Moreover there are many islands in the vicinity subject to England. If we treat Morison unlawfully what calamity may it not entail!

"We do not know whether the so-called castaways are ignorant or educated; but be that as it may, this contemplated visit of Morison's is no ordinary affair.

* This lieutenant is called Hoshu in the Japanese text. His Russian name is not known.

"It goes without saying that I am quite unfitted for discussing grave questions of government. The August Shōgun and his ministers are above us, but at your urgent request I have ventured to say what I have, and from this you can appreciate how anxious I am to promote the welfare of my native land. Kindly pardon me if I have spoken too freely."

When I was awaked from my dream by the watchman's clappers, I found what I thought to be a gathering was but my own bed room. Day was beginning to dawn and in the distance a cock was crowing. My mind was confused. I seemed to be awake and yet I was not awake. I seemed to have dreamed and yet it was not a dream. Since it all appeared so strange I have written down what I could remember.

To drive away the English ships bent on a kindly errand was certainly not the fitting thing to do, and to do so was to invite disaster, and yet it was already the fixed purpose of the authorities, and that because they were ignorant of the outside world.

Our authorities during a hundred years and more by prohibiting the import of foreign books, and the building of large ships, had done all they could to shut out the breezes of the western sea, and to make their subjects blind, dumb and halt. Thus under the influence of the teachings of Shintoism and Confucianism, the people have reviled foreigners calling them beasts or barbarians. It is all wrong. They persecuted intelligent and farsighted men who with the view of educating their countrymen simply explained the conditions prevailing in foreign countries. For example, Rin Shihci²⁰ was arrested because of an essay on coast defence. Takano, having this in mind, wisely did not venture to attack the government's policy of isolation, in the above dream, but dwelt on the inhumanity of their course and the disgrace Japan would incur if the ships were driven away. Thus he appealed to the pride of the government. He thought they would be influenced more or

less on learning of the progress of the world, although they might not fully awake from their dream of isolation.

Kwazan also wrote a book in which he courageously discussed the disadvantage of driving away the English ships and the necessity of opening the door to foreign trade; but fearing it might lead to persecution, he put it away in a secret drawer.

Takano's *Yume Monogatari* was so widely read that imitations of it appeared, such as *Yume Yume Monogatari*, and *Zoku* (Popularized) *Yume Monogatari*.

Nothing is more disturbing to those who are wont to respect old laws and customs than the development of new thoughts. Even Confucian scholars suffered persecution when they ventured to set forth other than the stereotyped teachings of the schools.

The conduct of Takano and his associates in lecturing and publishing books and thus calling in question the policy firmly adhered to by the authorities, appeared subversive of the established order.

Among the detectives of the Shōgunate was one Torii,²¹ a younger brother of Hayashi Akiraka, *Daigaku no Kanshi* (Minister of Education). He was a bright crafty man who had made trouble for a number of men who had trusted him, during the late years of the Tempō period (1830-43). By changing the Chinese characters for his name "Yōzō," the people made it read Devil Zō instead of Bright Zō. He was born in a Confucian family, and so hated the new Dutch learning bitterly. When the *Yume Monogatari* was published, Torii reported the matter to his superior, saying in effect: "This story of the coming of the English is simply the foolish talk of these scholars and nothing could be more harmful to the State than their proposal. The author of *Yume Monogatari* should be arrested and severely punished. This foreign learning is the source of wrong opinions and should be strictly prohibited lest it result in great calamity to the State." This view was not acted upon by the Minister, but the forces which were to bring misfortune to

Takano were already at work. The first of the next year, the clans of Odawara and Sakura were ordered to strengthen the coast defences of Awa Izu. In pursuance of this order Yōzō was sent to Uraga to survey the coast line and to inspect the forts and the war vessels there. The authorities felt keenly the necessity for coast defence, especially because of what they had learned from the *Yume Monogatari*.

There is a different account of the *Yume Monogatari* given in the *Bummei Tōzen Shi*. According to this report the manuscript was presented to some high official with the view of influencing the action of the government. This official laid it before the Shōgun. All were impressed by the extensive and detailed knowledge of Western affairs to which it testified and were favorably inclined toward Takano; but Torii, a devotee to Chinese scholarship, saw in it a blow to the old learning, demanding immediate action. Hence he secured the arrest and punishment of the students of Western learning.

Torii Yōzō was accompanied by Egawa Tarozaemon,²³ the *Daikwan** of Moriyama since the region was under his jurisdiction. He was a brave, serious and upright man who was indignant at the prevailing corruption. He had sought instruction in literature and military science from eminent scholars and had associated with Takano and Kwazan, because he realized the importance of Dutch scholarship. He had also presented a petition to the government deprecating the plan of driving away the English ships. He represented the new thoughts and hopes, while Yōzō was wedded to the old. Naturally they were not on good terms. Knowing this, the Minister in charge of the matter warned Egawa not to allow his private prejudices to interfere with the interests of the State. Egawa thanked him and promised to obey, but for all that the two came near to blows after leaving Yedo.

* The term *daikwan* might be translated lieutenant. It refers to the officials governing the districts subject to the so-called direct rule of the Shōgun. Such districts were widely scattered through Japan.

A certain Ogasawara sought the position of surveyor, on the ground of his experience in Matsumae in Yezo, at the beginning of the Bunkwa period. Egawa was greatly indignant when he found how ignorant and unskilful Ogasawara was, and declined to meet him. Thereafter he secretly sent a messenger to Takano asking him to recommend an able surveyor. Takano sent him Uchida Yataro. He was a good mathematician but without experience in surveying. Hence he was assisted by Okumura Kisaburo. All this greatly offended Ogasawara and he objected to Okumura on the ground as he alleged, that he was connected with the Zōjō temple and that his rank was unprecedentedly low for such a position; but the real difficulty was that he was afraid that his own ignorance would be brought to light. Egawa remembering his promise to the Minister though much against his will, sent Okumura back to Yedo. Nevertheless he ordered Uchida to make a careful topographical survey of the coast and also a report on the sea bottom of the coast. On his return to Yedo he prepared a chart, and after consultation with Takano, he presented it to the government. The marked difference between his chart and that of Ogasawara led to increased reputation on the part of Egawa, the responsible official, and a new appreciation of the Dutch learning; but on the other hand, Torii Yōzō hated the Dutch scholars more than ever and was on the watch for a chance to attack them.

CHAPTER V.

A FALSE CHARGE.

The Dutch learning at last gained great headway throughout Yedo. New tools and instruments were made and new enterprizes planned in accordance with the counsels of the Dutch scholars.

At this time a certain Yamaguchi Kinjiro, of Nihonbashi, became interested in the Dutch learning, giving especial attention to geology and industrial questions, which he studied under Abe Yūshin. With several friends he conceived the idea of getting government permission to develop certain uninhabited islands.*

Ogasawara, one of Torii's lieutenants, learned of this and thought he saw in it a chance to make trouble, alleging that this scheme was merely a cover to bring the coterie of Dutch scholars into communication with the barbarians. Accordingly he made friends with one of Yamaguchi's comrades and persuaded him to take his view of the case and to give information to Torii, telling him that he would be protected and cared for. The informer, Hanai Toraichi, reported that the Dutch learning had come to be in great favour and was extending rapidly. He gave also a list of names of persons high and low who were interested in it. A partial list will be found in the accompanying footnote. †

He went on to say. "These are associated together. They

* It is not quite clear whether the expression *Mujinto* means the Bonin Islands, though the term Bonin is supposed by some to be a corruption of *Muwin*, the equivalent of *Mujin*.

† Daimyō: Shimazu and Miyake; Hatamoto: Matsudaira Naiki, Matsudaira Isenokami, Shimozone Kinsaburo, Egawa Tarozaemon, Hagura Geki, Koga Kotaro; Samurai: Endo Katsusuke, Tachihara Kintaro, (Mito), Mochizuke Tomō, Shōji Umpei (Unshu), Watanabe Noboru (Kwazan): Physicians: Takano Nagahide, Sato Genkai. Takano was a samurai, but was disowned by his lord, through fear of complications with the authorities. Miyake was Daimyō of Mikawa and Kwazan's liege lord.

respect the barbarians and despise their own countrymen, and are gaining influence by publishing such books as the "*Yume Monogatari*" etc. Others are trying to communicate with the Barbarians under the pretence of colonizing uninhabited islands. Egawa and Okumura have assisted them greatly and they are now on the point of starting. All this is due to the baneful influence of the barbarian learning and it is in danger of bringing untold damage to the State."

Torii was greatly delighted to have the opportunity for revenge thus placed before him, and at once reported the matter to Mizuno Tadakuni, one of the Shōgun's Ministers of State.

The Minister was much surprised and would have been glad to arrest the whole company, but as that would involve the powerful Daimyō of Mito and Satsuma, he concluded to limit himself to Takano and Kwazan, but before he acted, the matter became noised abroad and caused great excitement.

Takano was at that time confined to his bed and was depressed on learning that the Dutch scholars were to be arrested. One day he received a note from Kwazan urging him to come to him at once, since an important matter needed consideration. In spite of his illness Takano went. While they were conversing, an order came for Kwazan to go at once to Katsu Awa no Kami. He had no time to make any preparations. He turned to Takano and said "My future is plain. Take care of yourself."

On inquiry Takano found that Watanabe had been thrown into prison and that all his books and papers had been put under seal, and that further, most of the Dutch scholars had also been arrested.

Takano then called on some of his friends in the hope of getting help from them, but without success. He found himself in great trouble. Some of his friends embodied their advice in an old proverb to the effect that flight is the best chance out of thirty-six, adding that he was a patriot and that while a slanderer might gain a temporary victory over him, he would in the end

win recognition. "It is better" they said, "to conceal yourself for a time and surrender after the falseness of the charge has become apparent."

At this Takano shook his head and replied, "If I should conceal myself for a while, I should be a man of darkness forever. Kwazan's imprisonment is due, I am told to my pamphlet, "*Yume Monogatari*." It is better that I surrender myself and follow him to prison." But the thought of his mother distressed him when he thought of imprisonment; and since his house had already been searched it seemed clear to him that he could not honorably escape. Accordingly he surrendered himself on the eighteenth day of the fifth month, of the tenth year of Tempō, (June 28, 1839), four days after Kwazan's arrest.

The following account of his surrender is from Count Katsu's "*Tsuisan Ichirwa*." "About the middle of the fifth month of the tenth year of Tempō, (Dec. 6—Jan. 4, 40.), a priest who appeared to be about thirty-five or-six years old came to the Rimpō temple and said, 'Although I am a good-for-nothing fellow, I have decided to enter your sect and hold your faith while I live. Pray shelter me.' The priest of the temple replied, 'Are you a samurai? If so I will help you.' The man answered, 'I am a physician from a distant province, but have been living in Kojimachi. I am in trouble and I have come to you for relief. Pray give me your sympathy, and I will tell you how it came about?' The priest of the temple then said, 'It would be an easy matter to protect you if you were a samurai, but since you are a physician it is not proper that I should do so, according to the rules of my sect.'

"On hearing this the man was much disappointed and looked as though he were about to faint. The priest then took him to his private room and gave him medicine and some hot water which relieved him.

"In the meantime, a man dressed like a shopkeeper came to the temple and said, 'They say you have a priest in your temple whom I want to meet.' Aishun, the priest of the temple, under-

stood him and said sharply, 'No. There is no such person here. Who told you there was? What are you, and who are you?' On seeing that it was impossible to persuade Aishun to let him see the so-called priest, the man went away.

"The priest was so much revived that he was about to leave, but Aishun detained him, saying, 'The sun has not yet set, and you can have protection here.' When it became dark, however, the priest thanked Aishun for his kindness and left the temple. Shortly after there came a knock at the door of the temple, and on opening it, there were found to be a score or more of policemen brandishing their weapons. They shouted out, 'A man who looks like a physician is in this temple and you must deliver him up. This is by the order of the Lord of Echizen. If you refuse, we must search the temple.' On hearing this Aishun laughed contemptuously, and said in a loud voice, 'This temple has been of old a shelter for samurai. Unless you can give me the particulars, you shall not search the temple whatever the Lord of Echizen may order, and in case you unlawfully begin the search, I shall resist you.' The officials hesitated and Aishun said more gently, that the matter might be settled quietly. On their desiring to look about, Aishun led them around through the temple, into the bathroom, storehouse, etc., and thus allayed their suspicions. He then had fish and *sake* brought on. At first they declined out of suspicion, but after a while they each drank a cup of *sake*, and became more confidential. Then they acknowledged that the Lord of Echizen had given no orders, and begged Aishun not to mention the matter. Aishun then called in the subordinate priests of the temple and gave the order, 'If a man who looks like a physician, about thirty-five or -six years old, should come here confessing that he is not a samurai, you must not shelter him even for a day.' The officials then left the temple. The next day, it is said, their leader sent a messenger to Aishun to thank him for his kind reception of his men the night before, and repeat the statement that the men were not under the orders of the Lord

of Echizen. He also renewed the request that Aishun would not report the matter to the authorities.

"It is now understood that the physician was Takano Nagahide, and that the official was Matsudaira Igano Kami, the Superintendent of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha Bugyō*)."

Since this report comes with the authority of the late Count Katsu, then known as Awa no Kami, who was high in authority during the later days of the Shōgunate, and more or less interested in Takano, it probably comes very near the truth, and as it was important that Takano should gain time to settle up his affairs, it has a certain verisimilitude about it.

We are told that there was until recently in a small seaside village near Mizusawa, called Ojika, a considerable collection of manuscripts sent there by sea when Takano's arrest was threatened. These have since been handed over to the Takano family. This attempt to save his papers and to settle other matters of importance to his family would doubtless lead him to conceal himself for a while, even though he intended eventually to deliver himself up; for he could still keep himself in touch with one or two confidential friends.

One of the most lamentable incidents of this troublous time was the suicide of Koseki Sanei. Kwazan had attended lectures on Dutch matters and learned many things. He once said to himself, "Christianity is the common religion of the countries of Europe; there must be something in it which should not be despised." He wanted to study Christianity, but found difficulty in doing so because of the stringent laws against it.

Among the Dutch books to which he had access was one entitled "The Life of Jesus Christ," and he asked Kozeki to translate it while he himself wrote out the translation from Kozeki's dictation, but before completing it he was imprisoned. On hearing of the arrest of Kwazan, Kozeki surmised that it might have to do with their joint work on the Life of Christ and so concluded to surrender himself, hoping that he might in this way save Kwazan; but he bethought himself that the penalty

for accepting Christianity was crucifixion, and decided that it was better for him to commit *harakiri* than await crucifixion at the hands of the public executioners.

Kozeki was born in Shōnai, now called Tsurugaoka, in the province of Dewa. He first studied under Yoshida Choshuku, and then under Siebold. He was an ardent student of European history, and was the personal physician of the Daimyō of Kishiwada. He was also employed at the Shōgunate's observatory in the translation of books on geography. Owing to a disease in his feet, he could not practice medicine and so gave himself up to the work of translation; but friend though he was of Takano and Kwazan, he never discussed politics.

After his death Takano wrote the following: "Alas! A noted scholar has passed away. It is sad to think that my poor friend has been taken from us. We were both wont to say that life can not be estimated simply by age, and that since it was impossible to tell which would die first, we mutually agreed that the survivor should write a memorial inscription for the other. Now I, who am like a fish in a net, or a light before the wind, must take up this task." It was indeed hard, for to mourn for his friend was but to mourn his own fate. A number of men were arrested on the charge of planning to develop the Mujin (uninhabited) Islands.*

Torii's hope was first of all to get rid of Takano and his comrades, and then to cause what trouble he might to Egawa; but he put especial stress on the plan to develop the uninhabited island or islands. As to this, the whole scheme was simply being talked over with the view of increasing the productive power of the nation. So far as landing on a foreign shore was concerned, it was only mentioned as a possibility in case of accident through stress of weather.

According to the report of the investigation by the court of

* Some of their names were Kinjiro and Hidesaburo, workers in gold lacquer, Jungi, father and son, of the temple of Muryōjū (Shin sect) of Shimagaramura, Kashimagōri, Iitachi, Honki Michihira, a samurai, and Saito Jirobei, a retainer of Fukuhara.

the Shōgunate, apparently from an account given by Takano at a later time, there was nothing elicited which showed any unlawful purpose. Takano was then charged with having published *Yume Monogatari*. He defended himself, by maintaining that in what he wrote about England he merely followed what was written in the Dutch books, and that his sole motive was to benefit his country by bringing these matters to the attention of the government officials.

It became very plain that whatever his defence, it was Torii's plan to have him condemned. Furthermore, however sincere Takano might be, his counsels ran counter to the government's policy and this his opponents could not forgive.

During his examination the judge said, "*Yume Monogatari* explains the condition of affairs in England. Have you ever been there?" Takano replied, "The State forbids foreign travel. How could I go?" The Judge then said, "In that case the statements of your book are simply false and made with the intent of deceiving your countrymen." Takano retorted, "We do not know that anyone has gone up in the heavens, and yet we have astronomers. None have gone down into the earth, and yet we have geologists. Now England and Japan occupy corresponding positions in their respective spheres. Why should I not know England's condition, even though I have never been there. Although the unassisted eyes of the ordinary man may be unable, yet there is a kind of living eye with which one may see things thousands of miles outside one's country with great vividness."

Takano had hardly finished speaking when the judge cried out, "Be silent! Your language is insolent."

Such was the state of the courts. The judges could resort to threats, while the defendant was without defence. Seeing that it was impossible to defend himself Takano was discouraged, and a sentence of imprisonment for life was passed upon him, on the 28th day of the twelfth month, of the tenth year of Tempō (Feb. 1, 1840), as follows:—

"In the case of Takano Nagahide, physician :

"You have devoted yourself to the Dutch learning during the past years, and by translating many Dutch books you have been the means of bringing Dutch learning into vogue.

"On hearing that an Englishman named Morison was about to come to Japan in an English ship with certain Japanese castaways, you wrote a book called *Yume Monogatari* in which you criticised the government policy, saying that Morison had lived in China many years, and was a man of letters who had attained high position ; that he is said to be about to present a petition to our government asking the opportunity for trade and setting forth the condition of his country ; and that he will do this, not through the intervention of the Dutch, but directly by means of the Chinese language in which he is well versed ; that such being the case, seeing he will ask to be allowed for the sake of humanity to deliver certain Japanese castaways, it would not be consistent with humanity to drive him away and might also become the occasion of complications with a foreign state.

"Although you may have intended simply to advise the authorities, your book was published and is already in the hands of your country-men.

"On learning that Watanabe Noboru had been summoned, you visited the houses of your patients thinking that you also would be summoned. Notwithstanding you surrendered yourself to the authorities, your conduct merits imprisonment for life."*

It may seem strange that Takano was not accorded the same treatment as Watanabe who, as the next paragraphs tell us, was placed in the custody of his own provincial lord. The explanation is, that for fear of complications with the authorities, his lord had disowned him and denied that he was a samurai of his clan. Thus he lost his standing and became amenable to the central authorities. It may be remarked in passing, that, ac-

* The text adds Ozeki Sanei and Kanai Bunzaki.

According to the author of *Bummei Tōzen Shi*, Takano in reply to a question of the magistrate, stated that he had read over two hundred Dutch books.

At the same time Watanabe was sentenced to imprisonment for life on the charge of writing a book called "Conversations on the Condition of Western Countries."

The Judgment ran :—

"In the case of Watanabe Noboru, a retainer of Miyake, Tosa no Kami :

"You were in charge of the coast liner of Tabara near the sea of Enshu. For the purpose of assisting your Lord you associated yourself with Takano Nagahide and others in the study of the Dutch learning, with the view of learning the art of coast defence as well as the condition of barbarian countries. Having copied what you heard about Kapitan Niineanu, you wrote several books. As you made progress in your study you thought of what had been accomplished in the matter of civil government, education and military affairs, and were anxious about the coast of your feudal Lord's possessions.

"On learning that the Captain had secretly reported that Morison, an Englishman was about to sail for Yedo Bay with certain Japanese castaways on board, you wrote books in which you criticised the policy of the government, thinking that it would prove a source of irritation, if Morison should be driven off in accordance with the government's recent order, Morison's errand being one of humanity. You also believed the rumor that Morison, who had spent some years in China, was a man of letters occupying a high position.

"Although you were anxious about Japan's future in view of the condition of her coast defences, and did not show to others the books you wrote, your conduct was highly unlawful ; but since you are a samurai of high rank, you are sentenced to be delivered over to your Lord's retainers to be imprisoned for life."

Torii's plan was first of all to destroy Takano and Watanabe, and later Egawa and other distinguished personages, but

both were careful not to involve their comrades in suspicion, and they alone of that group suffered. Of the lesser men under suspicion because of the uninhabited island affair, several died in prison. Hanai the informer was acquitted.

CHAPTER VI.

IMPRISONMENT.

Many a distinguished personage was persecuted on the charge of writing books and discussing politics during the despotic rule of the Tokugawas. Most of these books, however, dealt with domestic affairs. Prior to Takano and Watanabe, Rin Shihei alone had been punished for a patriotic discussion of foreign affairs. He wrote a book called, "A Talk about the Military Affairs of an Island State,"* in which he discussed the question of national defence. He also wrote on the "Survey of Three States." He committed suicide while in prison. His case was very similar to that of Takano and Watanabe.

Had the precedent of Rin Shihei been followed, Takano would have been delivered over to his feudal lord for punishment, but being merely a physician he was thrown into the prison in Yedo, while Watanabe was imprisoned in his own house. During his life in Yedo, Watanabe not only spent money very freely in the interest of the Dutch learning, but also gave away much in charity, so that he was quite poor when he was imprisoned, and had none left for the support of his aged mother. Hence some of his friends decided to hold an exhibition of his paintings. This matter was much talked about and his enemies made it the basis of the charge that Watanabe was holding improper communication with outside parties. He was highly indignant and said, "A criminal can be of no service to the

* The Japanese titles of these books were respectively *Kaikoku Heidan* and *Samkoku Tsuran*.

State. I had rather die than bring trouble upon my Lord." He then quietly arranged his affairs and committed *hara kiri* on the eleventh day of the twelfth month, of the twelfth year of Tempō (Jan. 23, 1842), at the age of forty-nine.

From Watanabe's fate, Takano's fortune can be easily imagined. When arrested he thought that in consideration of his patriotic intentions his punishment might be mitigated, hence he was greatly disappointed when he found that could not be. He then wrote a book called "The Song of a Bird,"* and managed to send the manuscript to a friend.† In this pamphlet he gave the details of his case and lamented that it was in the power of slander to thwart the purpose of loyalty, and of ignorance to block the path of learning. He grieved especially for his aged mother. He wrote, "Since I am a loyal patriot no blame can come to me, in spite of my imprisonment, still I can but mourn for my aged mother, who is left helpless and forlorn. This is the fruit of slander. It is indeed often the case that in troublous times wise and learned men die by the sword. Now that I suffer in time of peace, those who are ill informed may attack me as if I were a great criminal, and thus bring shame upon my relatives and friends. This I can not endure."

He would have liked to have written a defence which might be read in his native province, but the rules of the prison were too strictly enforced to admit of it. In the first month of the twelfth year of Tempō (Jan. 23—Feb. 21, 1841) Tokugawa Ienari, the ex-Shōgun died, and as a special act of clemency, the majority of the prisoners were released, and Takano was made Chief (*narushi*) of the prisoners. This afforded an opportunity, of which he eagerly availed himself to communicate with his friends outside. Accordingly, he wrote a short account of the troubles of himself and his comrades, which he sent to a cousin, the son of Moteki Samanosuke, often mentioned above. This cousin was a man well versed in Japanese and

* *Tori no Nakaze.*

† Suzuki Shunzan²⁹.

Chinese history, and loyal to Takano. On the latter's imprisonment he had taken the aged mother under his care. Folded in the manuscript was found the following letter :—

“A year ago last summer I met with misfortune. The following spring my mother started for our native province. Since then I have heard nothing of her and I am anxious about her day and night. Although as the world goes we are not so far apart, yet the law has separated us widely. Although I am constantly thinking of you I have not written. I am safe though I have been in prison several years. Since I am sentenced for life, the jailor and my fellow prisoners are kind to me, and I have been appointed an official and thus have a little more freedom in sleeping and waking than before. Owing to the recent Amnesty, the late Chief of the prisoners (*Narushū*) was released and I have been appointed to succeed him. Most of the prisoners were released, so that the prison is almost empty. Hence the prisoners may meet together. As Chief I have large liberty and am much more comfortable. Bye and bye I shall be able to send you money every month. Pray do all you can for my mother whom you have taken into your home.

“As for myself, the *Machi Bugyō* * is caring for me, and I hope to see the world again next year. Till that time I beg you to care for my mother. Since the prison is nearly empty I have no money to send with this letter.†

“Lest those who do not know of my case should think me a criminal, I have written out the details of the matter from the time of my arrest until my conviction. Please read it and show it to others. Pray do me the favor to care for my mother. I shall be able to send you money from next month. Kindly commit to the bearer a letter about my mother, telling of her experiences since her arrival.

“The bearer was in prison for many years and was released

* The *Machi bugyō* would seem to be the chief of the precinct (*machi*) in which the prison was situated. (?)

† The Chief of the prisoners, although himself a prisoner, appears to have been able to levy a tax, or to collect fees from his fellow prisoners.

under the terms of the Amnesty. He returns to Yedo on the 10th of the 4th month. (May 14, 1837).

"I understand that one Kameya at an inn at Ichi-no-seki deals with such affairs and I shall send my remittances through him. Letters and other things are quite free, so that you can hear about me.

"When the bearer reaches you, kindly give him all news about my mother and hear what he can tell about me. He starts to-morrow and is in great haste.

"8th day of the end month of 12th year of Tempō (Feb. 30, 1841)."

The bearer of the above letter was from Sendai. He rendered excellent service in carrying letters between Takano and his cousin. The following letter of thanks from Takano will speak for itself:—

"I read your letter telling of your arrival in Yedo on the eleventh instant after a safe journey, with great pleasure. We are all as usual. As you know the rebuilding of the prison for farmers was commenced at the close of last month, so that the West prison for the homeless includes both classes. There have been in all only ten prisoners for a long time, and I am troubled about fees. Since the prison is nearly empty but was about to receive prisoners soon, we were a little more at ease, but we have again been disappointed.

"If you should hear from *maruto* * say to his *shire*.

"It is said that the East prison will be rebuilt by the end of next month and when finished the main prison will be occupied temporarily by farmers. If so we shall have trouble for only forty or fifty days, but for the present we suffer inconvenience and discomfort.

"I have no words to express my thanks for your trouble in sending a messenger to my native place and for bringing back an answer. When the farmers' prison is restored, I shall be able to

* The Japanese text gives the character *to* in a circle, evidently a cipher known to Yonekichi, as is also *shire*.

compensate you for your kindness, but for the present I am a guest in the West Prison, a sort of *raku inkyō*,* and can hardly write a letter. I wish I might compensate you but can not just now find any way of doing so. Nothing could please me more than to hear that my dear mother is well.

"I can never forget your kindness. I was removed to the West prison and have been handcuffed on account of that small affair you know about and it has been taken from me. You will learn the particulars from 'Maruto' I hope. This is indeed a foolish affair. The turnkeys are satisfied that I did not purchase it, but as I was *narushi* for three days, I have been punished. They say the matter was reported to the *Machi bugyō* and that he paid no attention to it. So the affair will probably soon be over, but I am now suffering hardship upon hardship. I have hardly been able to finish this letter. I hope you will hear the details from 'Maruto.' I have not yet seen Shiraishi (Mushuku?) Tarokichi. Probably he is still in the *tamari* (house of detention). If you should be acquitted soon please write to me sending the letter through 'Maruto,' for I should like to ask you to carry a letter home for me. For a long time I have endured much suffering and have incurred a debt of twenty *ryō*. I have eaten up all my clothes, and am handcuffed. This year has indeed been a bad one. On New Year's day, I had a presentiment of what was to happen to me this past year. It is due I think to Karma. However, I have a presentiment that my luck will turn in the sixth month, so have no anxiety about me. Year before last I had a revelation that I should be released this coming year, and if so we can talk matters over leisurely. Because of my handcuffs I have with difficulty written this letter, but will write more in detail later. Tempō 12/4/18 (June 8, 1841)."

What the small thing was, which led to his being handcuffed, is not known, but it was undoubtedly something forbidden by the prison rules. In his distress he comforted himself

* A "retired gentleman" of the prison.

by his presentiments which he regarded as divine revelations. Nevertheless his condition grew worse and worse.

The Tokugawa administration was sadly corrupt. Extravagance and immorality prevailed in public and in private life. The Shōgun's Minister, Mizuno Tadakuni, exerted himself to check the tide, but during the life of Ienari he could accomplish little. When Ieyoshi came into power, affairs improved and what has been called the Restoration of the Tempō era was brought about. Among the reforms introduced by Mizuno was the repair of the prisons. As a result, Takano was shifted about, and for a year and a half his communication with his friends was interrupted. The following letter throws light on his condition at the time :

"Your letters of the middle of last spring and autumn were received. I was intending to write you in reply, but owing to the repair of the prison in the latter part of the spring, we have been moved into narrow quarters, and have been subjected to great discomfort through confinement with all sorts of men. This has made it impossible to write, though I have by no means forgotten you. On account of my being moved about from place to place, everything has seemed to be against me.

"On the third instant I returned to my old place and things have for the most part assumed their old relations. Hence I am comparatively comfortable and I take the opportunity to write to you.

"I am glad to know that although the hot days are not yet over, you are quite well. As for myself, I am well though in the midst of great hardship. Pray do not be troubled about me. Affairs in Yedo have been greatly improved since the death of the late Shōgun. His favorites and his leading men have been banished or degraded. The extravagance and immorality have been largely overcome. The change in the habits of the people due to the strict order maintained is truly wonderful. The old governor, Tsutsu, has been replaced by Torii, formerly police superintendent. This is a great misfortune for me, but it

is persistently reported that the Shōgun will visit the ancestral shrine to worship. It is said preparations have already been made and that a general amnesty will be granted, so that I have great hopes before me. When I came here divination indicated that great good fortune was coming to me. Hence I am hoping to be released this year. The same forecast was repeated a few days ago. My faith is strong that my troubles will soon be over to my great joy. In all these experiences my aged mother has never been absent from my mind, waking or sleeping. Is she still living? Formerly I was able to receive letters but lately it has not been possible. Truly I am an undutiful son; but since you know my situation, pray give me your sympathy.

"Now that an opportunity occurs, I write specially to learn about my aged mother. Please let me know whether she is living or not. If she is still alive please have her write the one word *tassha* (well) with her own hand fourteen or fifteen times and then send the paper to me, with the impression of the palm of her hand in India ink. Since last year I have had unhappy dreams and so I have fancied that she had died. Please let me know about her. In the summer I had her letter by Uchimori, so that I knew she was still living, but since then I have not written and am dreading to hear that she has passed away. Nothing could make me happier than to hear that she is still living. As I expect to be able to write every month, I shall hope to comfort her. If she is still living please give her every care. I am sending with this one thousand cash (one *ryō*). If she has passed away let it be a present to you, but if she is still living kindly hand it to her. The amount is small because I have no definite news about her, and because the messenger is employed for the first time. On hearing of the receipt of this, I will send a further remittance.

"Kindly give my regards to your family. To the Takano family of Mizusawa I shall write later. To my half brother Goto, I have not written although he is my only blood relation; but I am intending to write and to commit certain matters to his

care. Please tell him this. I am intending to send *kōkō ibutsu*, but can not do so now for I write hastily. Since this is one of the prohibited things, do not mention it. Please burn this letter after you have read it.

SUIKŌ KYŌMU,

Sanjin.

To my brother Tokyo,

Tempō 13/7/29 (Sept. 3, 1842)."

While Takano was enduring every hardship, his aged mother made her home in the Moteki family. It is pathetic to think of his hope of release. How could it be realized while Mizuno and Torii were still in power? In spite of his sufferings he once said, "The Dutch learning is my chosen profession and if I die as the result of this learning and my patriotism, I shall never regret it; but I confess to a regret that I should die on account of *Yume Monogatari*." He seems to mean that it was hard to give up his large ambition on account of so small an affair as that pamphlet.

In Tempō 14/9, (Sept. 24f., 1843) Mizuno was dismissed and Abe Masahiro succeeded him. Takano with a view to his release petitioned the government to be allowed to translate a geographical encyclopedia and practice medicine among the coolies. On the twelfth day of the first month of Kōka, (Feb. 29, 1844) he wrote to his cousin Kyōichiro Moteki:

"My best New Year's greetings to you all! Happily I am as well as ever. Herein I enclose a few poems.

"Did you receive the letter I wrote you last winter and in which I enclosed three *ryō*? At the same time I wrote you I wrote letters to Sazuchu and Kome and have received their replies, but nothing has come from you. Your letters to Kome were dated in the third and sixth months respectively, both of them I have read with interest. I want to thank you for your trouble on my account last year.

"I have had many plans and if any of them is accepted by

the government I shall have a future before me, and you must rejoice with me. If it be accepted, a dead tree will again see the spring and I shall be able to thank you fully. I suppose that my mother is still well under your care. In my dreams I have met her—indeed I dream of her very often. Kindly answer this letter. As to Obata he has my warm sympathy.

“I should be glad to be able to send you a remittance but can not do so this time, but hope I may from next summer onward. Kindly give the enclosed single *ryō* to my mother. I can not send to you this time, but hope to do so from next summer. My position is that of *Kami kashira yaku* (Chief Head [of Prisoners]). Please have patience a little longer, I will write in detail later.

“Please write to me care of Kato Munetoshi of the Akagi Shrine, Ushigome, under name of Goto Keizai.”

The enclosed poems show how intensely Takano longed to be released that he might give himself to his filial duties and to his ambitious plans; but the amnesty was not granted and the restraint became more severe to Takano's great discouragement.

A convict named Eizō noticing this asked him if he had any hope of getting back into the world again, saying that he himself was receiving punishment for crime, “This,” he said, “I do not regret. One thing only troubles me. If I can get out by your aid and arrange that, I will not fail to save you.” Then he told Takano about his crime, and Takano showed him how he might prepare his defence. Eizō was greatly pleased and made his defence before the court as Takano had instructed him, with the result that he was finally acquitted.

A short time after Eizō's release, a fire broke out in the prison, set by an incendiary. According to the law when a fire broke out in a prison the prisoners were released for three days, and consequently Takano was free. This was Koka 2/3/27, (May 3, 1845).

Expecting never to return to the prison he went while it was still dark to his friend Otsuki Shunsai,²⁶ in Shitaya, opened

the door and entered the bedroom of his friend. His hair was long and his face was so besmeared with dirt that he was not recognized.

Takano said, "Don't you know me? I am Nagahide and I have escaped because of a fire at the prison. Please give me clothes and some swords." His friend said, "You remember that if the prisoners come back within three days their penalty is lowered one degree. Why should you not receive this special grace?"

Takano shook his head and said, "Don't be anxious. I have plans." The clothes and swords were given him and he left the house. He then went to the Akagi Shrine in Ushigome and spent the rest of the day with his friend Kato Munetoshi. At night he left and on being asked where he was going, he replied, "To Emma's Court."*

According to another account handed down in the family of Endo Katsusuke, Takano went directly to Yotsuya to Endo's house. Endo was a samurai of the Kii clan. He was a member of the "Old Men's" Society and a friend of Takano, indeed, he wrote the introduction to the *Nibutsu ko*, Takano's treatise on buckwheat and potatoes, the cultivation of which Takano was hoping to encourage. He there changed his clothes and was shaved by Endo's wife. This assistance to Takano was carefully concealed by the family, but was finally made public by a great-grandson, who was a colonel in the supply department of the Army. The cause of the reticence of the Endo family was the close connection of the Kii Clan to the Shōgunate.

* Emma is the King of Hades.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCEALMENT AND THE END.

It is possible to shut the mouth of a martyr but not to stop the progress of the world. While Takano suffered imprisonment for six (?) years, the current of Western thought was flowing into the Orient and making towards the realization of Takano's prophecy in his *Yume Monogatari*.

In the year in which Takano was arrested, the Opium War broke out between England and China and lasted three years. The English forces were victors in every battle, and the Chinese at last seeing they could not defeat the English made a treaty of peace. Every Dutch ship arriving at Nagasaki brought reports of the progress of the war, and there were rumors that England would invade Japan after her contest with China was over. As a result great interest in the subject of coast defence was shown by patriotic Japanese. The despotic government which took the *Yume Monogatari* as mere fiction could not but awake from its idle dream, and in Tempō 13/7 (Aug. 6f. 1842), the following ordinance was issued to the clan governments :

"In accordance with the ordinance of the eighth year of Bunsei (1825), all foreign ships must be driven away. But now that the administration has been revised to correspond with that of the Kyōshō-Kansei periods, it is the Shōgun's gracious will that all measures be carried out in a humane spirit.

"It is not thought fitting to drive away all foreign ships irrespective of their condition, in spite of their lack of supplies, or of their having stranded or having suffered from stress of weather.

"In accordance with the ordinance of Kōka, 3rd year, (1846),* after investigating the circumstances of each case, you should when necessary supply them with food and fuel and advise them to return, and on no account allow them to land.

* An evident error in date!

This does not mean that less attention shall be paid to coast defence. Still greater care must be taken than before, both as regards armament and men.

"Even in case ships sail along the shore to observe the situation, even if they open fire, you must still act in accordance with the gracious principles of humanity, not being unreasonably disturbed by their conduct. If, however, after receiving supplies and instructions they do not return, you will of course drive them away adopting such measures as are necessary.

"As regards coast defence other instructions will be issued."

The difference in tone between this ordinance and that of the ninth year of Tempō (1838) is very marked.

In the Tempō ordinance foreign vessels were to be driven away unconditionally, while in the new ordinance definite exceptions were provided for, and this change was in the direction of Takano's argument.

Mizuno's effort was to bring about reforms by emphasis upon autocracy and through force; but in spite of the aid of the crafty Torii, opposition arose throughout the Empire and success was impossible under that policy.

In the first year of Kōka (1844), H.M. Wilhelm II. of Holland sent a warship, the B——, to Japan with a letter* to the Tokugawa government, urging that Japan be opened to foreign trade, being solicitous lest Japan should suffer as China had done.

This letter called attention to the fact that in view of the the great industrial progress of western Europe, all interested nations were in search of new markets and hence their vessels were being sent into all parts of the world. These ships would sooner or later, some of them, be thrown by stress of weather upon Japanese shores, and unless large modification were made in the Japanese regulations friction would be sure to arise, and

* The full text of this letter in Dutch, with both English and Japanese translations will be found in Vol. XXXIV. Pt. IV. Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan.

lead to military retaliation, which could but be harmful to Japan, and could hardly fail to result in treaties far more onerous than such as might be granted at the instance of Japan in time of peace.

This letter was due to no selfish spirit on the part of the king but, we may assume, to a sincere desire to promote the real interest of Japan. It is supposed by many that this letter was inspired by Siebold. At all events it corresponds closely to views as they appear in his writings.

Holland had enjoyed the monopoly of Japan's trade for more than two hundred years and that monopoly was not immediately threatened. It may of course be admitted that the King and his advisers doubtless saw that in the long future, the wide interests of the world's commerce would prevail over the present interests of his country's trade, and that the open door would eventually prove an advantage to Holland, as well as to Japan. Still it was a far-sightedness which was the fruit of a broad and generous spirit.

This letter arrived three months after Takano's escape from prison. From that time forward foreign warships occasionally appeared seeking water and fuel, and the question of opening the country was so far agitated that in the end it led to the overthrow of the Shōgunate.

Takano managed to conceal himself in Yedo and vicinity for six months after his escape from prison with the assistance of a friend and former pupil Uchida Yataro. On the last day of the seventeen month (Aug. 14—Sept. 11, 44), Takano called on another pupil, one Mizumura Gendō at Itabashi, who accompanied him to Onaginura, Adachi District, of what is the prefecture of Saitama. Here he remained one day with still another pupil, Takano Ryūzen. The next morning early he left after pledging his protector to secrecy for one week. The next day Ryūzan was invited to visit a patient, but this proved only a pretence. He was immediately arrested and detained for a week at Konozu, a town of some little importance in the same

prefecture. He kept his promise of secrecy sacredly till the week was past, when he was allowed to return home. A daughter of this physician was until recently, perhaps still is, living. She was ten years old at the time of her father's arrest, and distinctly remembers her own fright and the anxiety of the family.

In the autumn, Takano went to Mizusawa to visit his mother and to arrange his family affairs. It may be noted here that when he withdrew from his fosterfather's family he resolved out of regard to the family not to marry; but after his mother returned to Mizusawa and he became more prosperous, he married an orphan girl who bore him a daughter. This marriage took place in 1838, before his imprisonment. While he was in prison, his wife supported herself and their daughter by sewing and was under the care of Uchida. After his escape, since he was able to earn a comfortable support by his translations, he hired a house in Yabushita, in Azabu ward of Yedo. While living there a son was born (1846).

At the time of his reappearance in his native district, it is said that a retainer of the Date family named Saito Tokuzo, who had formerly performed duty at the Tokyo seat of the family and who had there become acquainted with Takano, had retired and was living in a village near Mizusawa under the romantic name of Baiō, or as it might be translated 'The Old Man of the Plum-tree.' One day a guest knocked at his door and announced himself as Rōsei, or being interpreted, 'Creature of the Dew,' and added "May I see the master of the house?"

Saito not recalling any acquaintance in Yedo by the name of Rōsei, became suspicious, but peering through a window immediately recognized Takano and gave him a hearty welcome.

Takano then said "I have been imprisoned for over six years because of my writings; but owing to a fire in the prison, I have escaped and have returned home to see my aged mother once more, since I think I have not long to live. I came home secretly and now having seen my mother and arranged my business, I am about to return to Yedo; but as the search for

me is so persistent, I can only travel by night and have had the greatest difficulty in coming to you. Now the weather is cold and my clothing is thin, would you be able to give me one *ryō* and a suit of clothes?"

Saito willingly gave him what he needed and provided him with a dinner. Afterward Takano thanked him for his kindness and left the house.

From there he appears to have gone to Yonezawa, where he stayed some time with an old Yedo associate, Horiuchi Tadasuke. The latter was a physician of the Dutch school, who had a high reputation as a skilful practitioner. Not long after, there were certain indications that his pursuers were on his track, and this led to his leaving secretly for Yedo. While the guest of Horiuchi, Takano was concealed in a godown and never went out without permission. During this time the detectives were passing to and fro before the house, day and night. After Takano had gone, Horiuchi burned up all written matter which he had left behind.

It is said that in 1885, a Sendai gentleman called upon the widow of Horiuchi at Yonezawa, for she was still living, to gather information about this visit of Takano. The old lady was greatly troubled and professed entire ignorance of the matter, thinking her caller was a detective.

In view of the not infrequent appearance of foreign vessels off the coast of Japan the question of coast defence, as has been said above, assumed great importance, and consequently there came to be a great interest in the military science of Europe. The more intelligent and patriotic daimyō were eager for the aid of the Dutch scholars of the day in order that they might avail themselves of the information which lay hidden in the Dutch books, of which a considerable number appear to have been within their reach. Unfortunately for their purpose most of the Dutch scholars were medical men and only a few of them could read the books on military science. Takano with the assistance of Uchida Yataro, who had befriended him when he

first escaped from prison, took up the task of putting these books into Japanese dress on behalf of various Daimyō, and his work was received everywhere with confidence as accurate and trustworthy. Among them one called *Sampei Takuchisu*, or as one might perhaps translate it, "Tactics for the three Services," referring apparently to the three arms, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, was looked upon as a mine of information.

Count Katsu Awa is reported to have said that Takano was the most prominent of the Dutch scholars and that after his escape from prison he gained large profit from his translations. At first the price was fifty *ryō*, but as the number of copies increased it fell gradually to fifteen *ryō*; but that he being a poor *hatamoto* could hardly afford to pay the last named sum. According to Count Katsu, Takano did not dare to entrust the entire book to a single copyist, lest surreptitious copies should be put on the market. Hence it was his custom to hand from ten to twenty pages each to a number of different copyists and then assemble the several parts, thus making up the complete copies.

Not long after the birth of Takano's son of which mention has already been made, the suspicions of the government were in some way again aroused and the search for him was renewed, so that it became impossible for him to remain in Yedo; but fortunately his friends did not desert him.

Through the good offices of Egawa Tarozaemon he concealed himself for several months in Ashigawa-Shimogōri, in Sagami. While there he translated for Uchida *Sonmoji Shisei Hen* on the cover of which he wrote:—

"Affection is like a hidden rock which brings shipwreck even to a brave warrior." The characters *Son-moji* represent apparently a Dutch surname which can not be identified. It is a treatise on the asteroids of which he knew but four, Ceres, Pallas, Juno, and Vesta, all indeed that had been discovered up to that time.

It was perhaps, natural at the time when he wrote *Yume*

Monogatari, since the overpowering strength of Western nations was only beginning to be understood, that those who stubbornly adhered to the senseless opinions of the time should bark like dogs at new and strange thoughts; but it is surprising that when foreign affairs had come to assume large and apparently increasing importance, Takano should not have been pardoned and his counsels sought. Nevertheless, he was obliged to conceal himself,—indeed while still in Yedo under the protection of Uchida, he is said to have hidden in a large box by day, while he busied himself at night in the translation of Dutch books.

At this period Date Munenori,³³ Daimyō of Uwajima, who was known as a wise and intelligent ruler, had turned his attention to the condition of foreign countries. Believing Takano to be a man of talent and ability who had suffered because of his writings, he secretly ordered his retainers to find him. The messenger met Uchida and asked him where Takano was living. Uchida replied that he was in hiding in Yabushita, but that this must be kept secret. The messenger was much pleased and went to Yabushita but could not find Takano. Some days later while dining at Uchida's a guest came in. There was a certain air of distinction about him and he spoke with a brogue suggesting the northeastern dialect. The messenger of Date at once decided that this must be Takano and so reported to his master. Date then sent his personal physician, one Tomizawa, with the request that Takano enter his service. Accordingly, Kaei 1/2/29 (April 2, 1848), the two left Yedo for Uwajima, Takano assuming the name of Ito Zuikei. They arrived there on the second day of the fourth month (May 4, 1848). This engagement was at once notified to the clan as follows:—

“Itō Zuikei, a Dutch scholar has been ordered to come here in company with Tomizawa Reichū for the purpose of translating Dutch books. While engaged in this work, he will reside at the Sakuradosado villa and will be allowed the stipend of four persons. He shall also be paid for the expense incurred

in translation on applying to Yoshimi Sazen and Tomizawa Reichu. The requisite instructions have been given to the Chief of Accounts (Kanjō Bugyō)."

Takano's especial task was the translation of books on fortification and ordnance; but in this connection he was also to teach the Dutch language to certain of the clansmen.* Among the books, one called *Hōka Hītšudoku*, a title which might be freely rendered as "The Artilleryman's Manual," was translated by Date's order. When the fort at Sumiyoshi was built, the work was based on the principles laid down in this treatise.

He was regarded simply as a Dutch scholar and the allowance accorded was barely enough to support him, leaving little or nothing for his family. Hence he became badly discouraged and visited the Kompira Shrine, where he gave utterance to his feelings in a Chinese poem in which he contrasted the promise of the opening spring with his own distressed condition.

He suffered indeed from the wind and snow of hardship, but there seemed no hope for prosperous times for him. He thought of himself as one of the great men of the Orient, but there was no opportunity for him to make his ability available for his country.

The Yedo authorities suspected that he was in Uwajima and an order was issued to the clan officials for his arrest. He seems to have had true friends; for he was able to pack his *kōri* and escape by night, Kaei 1/3/14 (April 6, 1848). He left the following letter for Doi, one of his Uwajima students.

"I hear that Toshiharu my pupil has been wounded. I am very anxious, for he had my precious books. I left Uwajima last night after notifying Yoshida of my departure. I shall write you later."

What happened to this pupil we are not told.

* Their names are given as Ōno Shosaburo, Doi Isshi, and Tani Kōken, but further information seems unattainable.

When Takano became known as the representative of true scholarship, he won the friendship of many distinguished men and among these was Shimazu Saihin³³ the eldest son of Shimazu Saiko, the Daimyō of Satsuma. He was a rarely intelligent man and an associate of certain of the noted scholars of the time.* He was an eager student of the Dutch language and was especially interested in treatises on industrial and military affairs. Having heard of Takano from one of his associates, he wished to meet him. A retainer named Nose had become deeply interested in manufactures and had attached himself to Takano and greatly venerated him. This led to an invitation for Takano to visit Shimazu Saihin apparently before his imprisonment. The acquaintance thus formed grew into friendship which the imprisonment did not shake. Some five Dutch treatises were translated at Saihin's request, and Takano's designs are said to have been relied upon in building certain fortifications at Kagoshima, particularly those about the Daimyō's castle and at Shibata Cho. Hence on leaving Uwajima he went to Satsuma hoping to meet Saihin. Unfortunately there arose at this time a dispute about the succession. One party favored Saihin, but another Hisamitsu, and the latter party protested against Saihin's interest in Western learning and claimed that he was proposing to shelter a fugitive from justice, whom the Shogun's officials were seeking to arrest. Hence it was not thought best that Saihin should meet Takano. Thus in spite of every effort on Nose's part to aid him, he was at last obliged to leave Satsuma, although in fact he spent several months there. He then returned to Yedo under the name of Takayanagi Ryūnosuke, having burned his forehead with saltpetre, apparently by way of disguise. He was cared for at this time by a nephew† of Uchida.

The following is freely reproduced from a report of a

* The following are named: Fujita Tōko,³⁴ Sakuma Shōzan,³⁵ Hakura (Hagurageki) Yōku,³⁶ and Kawaji Seibo³⁷ (Toshiakira).

† Miyano Shiushiro.

conversation of Ichiki Shiro, a samurai of the Satsuma clan, and is in spite of the repetition of certain matters in the foregoing narrative worthy of insertion here.

"Saihin was one of the wisest daimyō of modern Japan. He was interested in the doings of Western nations and could read and write the Dutch language. I have seen a score or more of letters of his written in Dutch to certain of his retainers. Like attainments could scarcely be attributed to any other daimyō. He held relations with several of the Dutch scholars of the day.* He was on especially good terms with Takano, and consulted him with regard to ordering books from Nagasaki, among them several on artillery practice and on science.

"This predilection for Western learning displeased the more conservative clansmen, and some held that such a fondness for the learning of barbarous countries was unbecoming in one who would one day be a daimyō. This was one of the reasons of the opposition to Saihin when the question of succession was before the clan. Nose, the Assistant Superintendent of the Police, was a comrade of mine and I often heard about Takano from him. One day he showed me a document in which he gave expression to his indignation at the defective condition of the coast defences. The details of this letter I have forgotten, but one phrase remains in my memory, 'Owing to his being Daimyō of Fukuyama.' This referred to Abe Masahiro, whom Takano greatly respected. He had studied the condition of foreign countries before he became daimyō, and it is understood that he wished to send for Takano but was prevented by the conservative portion of the clan.

"Takano stayed in Satsuma, I believe, for three or four months, from summer till some time in the autumn, just when the question of succession was most hotly discussed. Nose was much distressed because the discussion prevented his aiding Takano and said, 'I must bide my time,' meaning 'I shall be able to do most for Takano when Saihin becomes Daimyō.'

* E. g. Banzaki Kanae, Itō Gemboku, Sakuma Shōzan and Takano Nagahide.

While in Satsuma Takano used to wear a short *kimono*, a *haori* adapted for riding, leggings, and a travelling sword. He was thus prepared to leave at any moment. When he left Satsuma, Nose went with him under the pretence of visiting the old castle at Miya."

The biographer takes pains to say that in thus passing from one province to another, Takano was not playing the part of a coward, nor was he seeking wealth or position, but was influenced solely by the desire to secure to his country the fruit of his long years of study.

It was beyond the power of either the Daimyō of Uwajima or of Saihin to protect him. Where could he go? There was one Matsushita Jūsui, a retainer of Mizuno Chusei, who had gained some note as a maker of heavy ordnance. He was simple-minded but brave and firm in character. On learning that Takayanagi (i.e. Takano) was a Dutch scholar, he came to him to ask about the making of ordnance and also sent his son to him to learn how to make ammunition. Jūsui knew that Takayanagi and Takano were one and the same, but wished to save him through the assistance of certain powerful samurai. One day in company with Yokoya Sōyo and Takano he called on Katsu Rintaro, later known as Count Kashi (Katsu) and told him plainly who Takano was and asked his assistance. Katsu refused, saying that he could not in loyalty to his master, the Shōgun, protect one who was a criminal under the laws of the Shōgunate; but he said, "Since Takano's case is truly pathetic I promise you that I will not inform against him; but you must not come to me again."

Takano impressed by Katsu's manliness took from his bosom a pamphlet called *Gingai Sōshō* (Roku?) and presented it to Katsu, saying, "It is a matter of life and death to us. Please take this as a memento."

He then went to Shimosa and lived in concealment with one Hanaka Kyōshō, a student of his. Later he returned to

Yedo and practiced medicine at Hyakunin Chō, Aoyama, under the name of Sawa Sampaku. At this time Abe Masahiro was one of the Shōgun's Ministers of State: and knowing that Takano had been slandered by Torii, was hoping for a favorable opportunity to secure a pardon for him; for he appreciated his talents and ability.

There is a report that the immediate occasion of the new energy of Takano's enemies was the presentation of his *Sampei Takuchikusu* (Tactics for the Three Services) to the Daimyō of Satsuma. The Daimyō knew Takano's scholarship and on seeing the book said at once, "There is no one but Takano who could produce that book. He must be concealed in this neighborhood." He was, however in no way disposed to make trouble for Takano; but being so much impressed by the importance of the work, he presented a copy to the Shōgun and spoke in terms of high commendation both of the book and its author. Whether the Daimyō actually revealed the author's name is not quite clear; but at all events the book, according to this report, was recognized as Takano's and gave a needed clue to his whereabouts.

The present head of the Takano family doubts the truth of this report; for he says that the *Sampei Takuchikusu* was prepared at the request of the Daimyō of Satsuma and that the original manuscript is still preserved in the archives of the Shimazu family; but there are those who appear to doubt the story of the Daimyō's having ordered Takano to prepare the translation.

The lesser officials, however, were on the alert and hoped to win credit by arresting Takano. Though they sought for him in Aoyama, they did not find him; but one day a Joshu man named Museki Genichi who had been a fellow prisoner of Takano's was again arrested. He was promised his freedom if he would find him.

One evening when Takano was returning home in the dark,

he was accosted by a man whose face was concealed by a large hat, who said, "Are you not the teacher Takano?" On looking closely Takano recognized him as Museki and they conversed together for a time. Finally the man said, "I have again committed a crime and the officers are searching for me. Won't you kindly give me some money so that I may run away?" Takano sympathized with him and searched his sleeves for money; but finding none took the fellow home and gave him what he wanted.

After a short time, seven policemen came. Three lay under the floor, two came in by the front entrance and two through the back garden. Takano was always on his guard. He had arranged his house so that his own room was approached by a narrow passage through which a single person could barely pass at a time, and he had covered his garden with dry leaves. As he rose one policeman was already behind him. Takano stabbed him in the chest. Another appeared in front and this one was cut in the forehead. The others hesitated, and then Takano calmly committed *hara kiri*, ending as customary by a thrust in his own throat, and died on the spot.

When leaving Uwajima, Takano is said to have examined a sharp dagger, and said to a friend, "I shall not fail to kill a policeman and then die myself."

When his body was inspected, poison was found wrapped in a paper wound about a finger of his left hand. This was Kaei 3/10/1 (Oct. 29, 1850). He was then in his forty-seventh year.

His friends, Miyano and Matsushita were banished because of the aid they had given.

Three years later, Perry came and there was great excitement regarding the opening of Japan. Eighteen years after his death, the Meiji Restoration took place. It is hardly too much to say that Takano's sacrifices contributed much to prepare the way for the era. In July, Meiji 31 (1898), His Imperial

Majesty assigned to Takano the Senior grade of the fourth rank, and granted Yen 100. toward the fund for a monument to his memory.

Thus although Takano died without realizing his ambition, he has in these later years won the distinguished recognition of the Sovereign of whose reign of enlightenment he was the harbinger.

NOTES.

These notes are almost exclusively based upon the corresponding articles in the biographical dictionary published from the office of the *Keizai Zasshi* (The Economist) under the title *Dai Nihon Chimei Jisho*, 大日本地名辞書, checked here and there by the Bummei Tōzan Shi 文明東漸史 of Fujita Mōkichi, and supplemented by oral information from the present head of the Takano family and others.

I.

P. 392. Uesugi Kagekatsu was a powerful noble of Echigo, who resisted Nobunaga. On the death of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi conferred upon Uesugi the fief of Aizu, with a revenue of 1,050,000 koku a year. After the death of Hideyoshi, he was the only one of the northern *daimyō* who opposed Ieyasu; but the latter impressed by his valor called him to Kyōto as special guard to the Emperor. He was not, however, confirmed in his old barony, but was transferred to Yonezawa, where his revenue was only 300,000 koku. He died in 1623.

2.

P. 392. Sugita Gempaku (1732-1817) was a physician of the Obama clan in the province of Wakasa and came from a family whose successive heads for several generations had practised medicine. He first studied under several noted physicians of the old Chinese system and afterward set himself up as a surgeon. Becoming dissatisfied with the anatomical charts current in his day, he found an opportunity to examine those contained in a Dutch book on anatomy which had been translated by one of the Court interpreters.

The diagrams being the reproductions of a layman struck him as inaccurate ; but later he obtained from the Dutch envoy on one of his yearly visits to Yedo, a set of anatomical charts. He then received permission to dissect the bodies of certain criminals and was greatly impressed by the close correspondence between the European charts and his own observations. He continued his studies and the practice of surgery. He would seem to have gained considerable knowledge of the Dutch language, for he translated several Dutch works on anatomy and medicine. In 1907 he was honored with the Senior Grade of the Fourth Rank.

3.

- P. 393. Sugita Hakugen, the adopted son of Sugita Gempaku, was the son of Takabe Seian of the Ichinoseki clan. At the age of sixteen he became a pupil of Gempaku. Under Gempaku's advice he collected several score of Dutch books and in 1809 he presented the Shōgun with a Dutch treatise on geography which he accompanied with a translation. The Shōgun conferred upon him twenty ryō with which he defrayed the expense of publishing his adopted father's book. He gained much reputation as a physician and as a scholar. He died in 1833 at the age of seventy-one.

4.

- P. 395. Yoshida Chōshuku (1758-1824) a physician of the Dutch School was the third son of a *hatamoto*. He was the personal physician of Maida, Lord of Kanazawa, for a time. On the latter's recovery under Yoshida's treatment from a severe illness he gave him twenty ryō which was used to assist in defraying the expense of publishing certain medical books based on the Dutch. Among his publications were Taisei Netsu Byōron (a Western Treatise on Fevers) 12 vols., Naikwa Kaikwan (a Treatise on

Medicine as Distinct from Surgery) 15 vols., and Ranyaku Kyōgen (Dutch Pharmacy) 50 vols.

5.

- P. 395. Katsuragawa Hosshu (1750-1809) was a hereditary physician of the Shōgun. In connection with Sugita Gempaku and others, he published a book on anatomy called Naikai Zusetsu, illustrated by charts. In 1780 he had a conference with the Dutch Captain, and in the year 1785 he became the immediate personal physician of the Shōgun, and received the rank of Hōgen; but by the influence of Tanuma Ryōjū, whose hatred he had incurred, he was dismissed. From that time he gave himself well-nigh exclusively to translation and published Bankoku Zusetsu (Description of the World illustrated by Maps), 2 vols.; Oranda Yakusen (Dutch Pharmacopia), 10 vols.; Kaijō Biyōhō (Manual of Medicine for Mariners?), 7 vols.; Gekwa Taisei (Complete Manual of Surgery), 8 vols.; Zui-chiku dō Keiken Hō (Tried Prescriptions of Zuiko's House, i.e., Takano Zuiko), 3 vols.

In 1784 Russians brought to Matsumae certain castaways, causing great excitement. At this Katsuragawa published a brief History of Russia. As a result he was reappointed to his old office. One of these castaways, Mitsutaro a pilot, was from Ise. He was summoned to the inner palace of the Shōgun and questioned regarding the customs and government of Russia. In the course of his replies he said that the Russians were minutely acquainted with Japan. They soon knew of Katsuragawa. There were two castaways present. They were ordered to tell what they knew to Katsuragawa who was ordered to make a record of it. As a result he wrote Hokusa Bunriyaku (A Brief Account of Investigations in the North.) The year after the Shōgun Ienari assumed office, the Dutch envoy arrived and brought a book about

Russia, *Rokoku Jijitsu Shō*, (Certain Facts about Russia). This Katsuragawa translated under the title of *Russia Ki*. One copy alone was preserved for the use of the Shōgun. At this time the Shōgun established a Medical School (Igak'kwan). When the surgical department was opened, Katsuragawa was appointed Professor. Later he lectured on the use of the microscope.;

In 1804 a Russian envoy came to Nagasaki asking intercourse. In the 3rd month the Russians made an incursion in Yezo. In 1808 the British came to Nagasaki and committed depredations. The Shōgun then appointed Katsuragawa superintendent of foreign affairs.

6.

P. 401. Aoki Bunzo, also called Konyō, was a Confucian scholar from a merchant family of Yedo, who studied under a famous scholar of Kyoto, Ito Tōgai. He was later (1739) made superintendent of the Shōgunal library. He was greatly distressed at the excessive mortality due to failure of cereal crops among those banished to islands, and conceived the idea of encouraging the cultivation of sweet potatoes. Accordingly he secured tubers from Satsuma which he planted in the medicinal garden of the Shōgun. Since they flourished greatly, he distributed them widely, together with a pamphlet describing the method of cultivation, cooking, etc., and as a result they came quickly to be an important crop all about and he received the name of "The Sweet Potato Master." On his tombstone this name is inscribed, namely, "Kansho Sensei." This stone is still standing at Meguro.

He later made up his mind that there must be much that was valuable in the Dutch books and went to Nagasaki to study, where by the help of the official interpreters and with great labor he acquired a very considerable knowledge of the Dutch language and was regarded as the

father of Dutch scholarship in Japan. He received posthumous rank in the 41st year of Meiji, namely, the Senior Grade of the Fourth Rank.

7.

- P. 401. Maeno Rankwa (1723-1803) (real name Maeno Ryōtaku) was from Nakatsu, Buzen. He resided at the Yedo establishment of that clan. At the age of forty-seven he learned Dutch through Aoki Konyō (see above) who taught him more than 500 Dutch words he had himself acquired and made him his associate in translation. In 1770 he returned to Nakatsu with his lord, who recommended him to devote himself exclusively either to medicine or the Dutch learning. He chose the latter and went to Nagasaki and added 200 words to his vocabulary and bought a book of anatomical charts and descriptions (Jinshū Naikai Zusetsu). The next year, together with Sugita Gempaku he engaged in dissection of the bodies of criminals. In the course of four years he translated the above with notes, as the fruit of his experience in dissection and published it under the name of Kaitai Shin Shō (New Exposition of the [Human] Body). He later returned to Nagasaki, purchased scientific books of various sorts and on his return to Yedo, prepared a dictionary which he published under the name of Oranda Yakubun Ryaku (A Brief Dutch Vocabulary). In the 26th year of Meiji he was accorded the Senior Grade of the Fourth Rank. His lord nicknamed him Oranda Geshin (Bewitched with Dutch). Accordingly he adopted the name Rankwa which has much the same meaning.

8.

- P. 401. Otsuki Bansui (1742-1813), also called Gentaku, belonged to the Sendai clan and his home was Ichinoseki. He learned Dutch first from Sugita Gempaku and Maeno, but later at Nagasaki. In the 6th year of Temmei he

became personal physician of the *Daimyō* of Sendai. In the 8th year of Bunkwa he engaged in translation at the command of Shōgun. His writings filled over 300 vols., of which Rangaku Kaitai (Steps to Dutch Learning) which was of great service to young students of Dutch, and Kaitai Shinshō, (a Treatise on Anatomy), the result of twenty years of labor, were considered his chief works.

9.

- P. 401. Hiraga Kyūkei, also Gennai (1722-79), made a specialty of botany, apparently with special reference to medicinal plants. He also wrote novels and plays. His father, an official of low rank, was from Sanuki. The son Kyūkei was employed in the garden of medicinal plants of his *Daimyō*. Not satisfied with this position he went to Nagasaki and visited daily a Chinese druggist to study medicinal herbs. At this time Japanese druggists suffered great loss through the importation of fraudulent drugs from China. At Nagasaki Hiraga was attached to the interpreter's office and rendered great service by detecting and destroying the adulterated or counterfeit drugs. This greatly surprised the importers and quickly stopped their frauds.

He then studied Dutch at the Dutch interpreter's office. He bought a great variety of foreign goods which he skilfully imitated. Later he went to Osaka and induced a sugar merchant to plant sugar cane in Bingo, an enterprise which was very successful. He then went to Kyōto, and after travelling widely over Japan returned to Yedo in 1754 at the age of thirty-two, and settled down in Yushima Hongo, where he taught Confucianism, practised medicine, and continued his botanical studies. He became one of the first botanists of his time. In 1779, one of his students killed a man, and Hiraga for suspected complicity was arrested and died of small-pox. Among his plays

'Shinrei Yaguchi no Watashi,' (The Spirit of the Yaguchi Ferry), 'Kompira Rishoki,' (Kompira's Help (?)) are still well known. He also published several books on botany.

10.

- P. 401. Among the students whom Takano found in Nagasaki were several who deserve notice. The first was Ito Gem-boku (1799-1871) who afterwards became a noted physician and druggist of Yedo. His establishment in Kanda is now used as a home for discharged convicts. Another was Mima Junzō, or Kojima Junzō as he was also called. Mima was one of the first, possibly the first of Siebold's students. He became a well-known Dutch scholar and is said to have translated into Dutch a noted Japanese book on obstetrics, which he presented to Siebold.

11.

- P. 408. Takahashi Sakuzaemon, father and son both having the same name. The father prepared a revised calendar. The son (1873-1829) became Librarian and Astronomer to the Shōgun. He was reported to be an excellent Dutch scholar. He translated a book on Manchuria, and in 1826 one on Russia.

In 1823 he went to Yedo in company with Siebold and the head of the Dutch Factory. He gave Siebold maps of Japan prepared by one Ino Kageyū, from which he had erased the place names, also maps of Yezo, the Shimono-seki district, and the Kokura district in exchange for Dutch books. In 1828 a package came from Nagasaki directed to Takahashi, which on being opened by a detective was found to contain things indicating illicit communication with a Russian physician. He was arrested and the next year died in prison. This was the starting point of the troubles which led to Siebold's detention.

12.

- P. 408. Habu Dōseki was a physician of the Shōgun's court

and a native of Yedo. He received instruction from Siebold on diseases of the eye. In return he gave Siebold clothes and a coat of arms which he had received from the Shōgun. On this becoming known, he was banished from Yedo.

13.

P. 410. Totsuka Seikai (1798-1876) a pupil of Mitsukuri and Siebold. This Mitsukuri was the father of the Professors Mitsukuri and of Baron Dairoku Kikuchi.

14.

P. 411. Shingu Ryōtei (1786-1854) was a noted physician of the Dutch system. He established a school in Kyōto at the Nanzen temple, which he called Junsei Shōin. He was reputed to be the father of the so-called Dutch school, so far as Kyōto and vicinity were concerned.

15.

P. 411. Koishi Genzui (1783-1849). His father Genshun was a noted physician of Ōsaka. The father studied six years at Nagasaki. He stoutly opposed the Chinese conception of physiology and published a work in sixty vols. to enforce his views. When forty-four he went to Yedo and discussed these matters with Maeno and Sugita Gempaku. After dissecting the bodies of criminals he compared his observations with the Dutch charts and thereafter devoted himself to the study and practice of the Dutch system although he never acquired the Dutch language. When he was forty-six years old his sixty volumes with the wooden blocks from which they were printed were burned in a great fire. When condoled with by a friend, he said, "No! Providence knowing how imperfect the book was destroyed it that I might be forced to rewrite it."

Subsequently he found an umbrella-maker who wanted to learn Dutch. Koishi furnished him the money to go to

Yedo and study, and on his return had him read Dutch books on medicine, and thus Koishi was helped in his medical studies.

Genzui, the son, at first studied Dutch under Otsuki Bansui (see note 8) and afterwards settled in Kyōto as a physician. In 1846 he was summoned to Kurume by the *Daimyō* as the clan physician, and died there at the age of sixty-six.

16.

- P. 412. Unagami Zuiō (1771-1825) was a physician of Tottori, Inaba. His real name was Inamura Sampaku. He studied the Confucian classics under Kamei Dōsai (1742-1814), a famous teacher of Chikuzen. While he was still living with Kamei, the latter died, and this led to his going in company with a fellow countryman named Namba Shunan, though perhaps not immediately, to Nagasaki, where he became a student of the Dutch language, the last part of the time in connection with Takano and Totsuka. He there acquired a certain proficiency as a Dutch scholar.

It is related as a curious incident of his career, that when he and Namba were returning to Tottori, their money gave out. After puzzling over the matter for some time, they went to a wealthy farmer's house, and sprinkled a certain strong drug on the feed of the farmer's cow. They then called at the door and asked for tea. While they were drinking the tea and smoking, the cow began to suffer severely. The farmer was much distressed and remarking that they were physicians asked if they could not cure the cow. After protesting that while they were physicians, they had never practised veterinary medicine, they agreed to try. Accordingly they administered an antidote which gave speedy relief. The farmer was greatly pleased, gave them a feast, kept them over night in royal fashion and sent them on their way with a present of money sufficient to meet

their expenses for several days. This scheme they resorted to several times, it is said, and thus were able to reach home. At Tottori, Unagami fostered the Dutch learning and published a book called *Haruma Wakai*.

17.

- P. 411. Komori Genryō (1781-1843) was a physician and scholar of Mino. He is said to have studied medicine and also Dutch under Unagami. He gained no little celebrity as a physician and student of Dutch in Kyōto and even the Court Nobles received treatment from him. He was associated with Fujibayashi in his studies and in the translation of Dutch books. He was honored by the Court with the Sixteenth Rank (1820). In the 13th year of Tempō (1842) he was called in to treat a daughter of the Emperor. In 1843 he was promoted to the Fifteenth Rank. He died the same year at the age of sixty-two. He wrote *Rampō Sūki*, (*The Essentials of the Dutch System [of Medicine]*), and *Byōin Seigi* (*Exposition of the Causes of Disease*).

18.

- P. 411. Fujibayashi Taisuke (1780-1836) was born in Fugenjima, Tsuzuki Gōri, Yamashiro. He went to Kyōto to study medicine, and becoming proficient in the Dutch language was later attached to the personal retinue of Prince Arisugawa. He left *Rangaku Kei* (*The Warp of Dutch Learning*), *Oranda Gohōkai* (*An Exposition of the Dutch Language*).

19.

- P. 417. Matsumoto Ryōhō was a physician and ancestor of the late Army Surgeon-General, Matsumoto Jun.

20.

- P. 430. Rin Shihei, (1801-41) a Yedo man originally Hayashi Tomonaō. His father had an allowance of 620 koku, but for some reason forfeited it. An elder sister, a beautiful

woman, became a secondary wife to Date of Sendai and through her influence Rin became a retainer of that *Daimyō*. He was a student of economics and travelled widely in the interest of his studies. He also became impressed with the weakness of the coast defences and was convinced that Western nations were waiting an opportunity to seize Japan. Hence wherever he went he tried to awaken the *samurai* spirit. At Nagasaki he found a foreign man-of-war and report says he interviewed one or more of the officers and became still more impressed with the strength of Western nations and the danger of their making a descent upon Japan. Accordingly, on his return to Yedo, he published a couple of books, *Kaiko Koku Heidan*, which has been translated the (Defences of the Seagirt Empire), and *Sankoku Tsuran*, (A Survey of Three Countries), apparently Japan, China and the West ; but neither people nor Government saw the danger, and regarded the books as likely to cause needless excitement, and so the blocks were destroyed and Rin was sent back to Sendai in disgrace in 1792. It is related that at Kyōto he once met the Court Noble Nakayama, who told him of a Joshu man, Takayama Hikokuro, who was so loyal to the Imperial House that he shed tears as he talked. Rin replied "Those tears are nothing. He simply has the habit of crying. If foreign men-of-war should come tears would not conquer them nor would appeals at the Ise shrine avail anything." His grave is to be seen at Sendai.

In the fifteenth year of Meiji he was posthumously promoted to the Senior Grade of the Fifth Rank.

21.

- P. 431. Torii Yōzō, a *hatamoto* with a revenue of 250 koku. At first he was apparently the head of a group of detectives. Later he became *Machibugyō*, an official whose authority included the powers of mayor, chief of police, and judge.

There were at times certainly two in Yedo, one for the northern and one for the southern part of the city.

He was a Confucian scholar and was extremely jealous of the Dutch scholars in view of their increasing influence.

After exhibiting his zeal against the new learning, he directed his attention to Takashima Shuhan (1797-1866) of Nagasaki, who was much interested in questions of ordnance. He had been summoned to Tōkyō by the authorities as a teacher of gunnery and gun-casting. Takashima associated himself with Egawa and under their joint influence the party which favoured Western learning was rapidly gaining strength.

This irritated Torii greatly. After Takashima's return to Nagasaki, a certain Honjō Mōheiji, apparently a subordinate official, came up to Yedo and reported that Takashima had laid in a large stock of military stores and had become almost a *daimyō* in power; that his agents were buying rice in the province of Higo; and that he was apparently preparing to stir up a revolt against the Shōgun.

Torii was delighted, thinking that it would open the way to check the westernizing movement which was gaining such headway. Accordingly he entered a complaint against Takashima with Mizuno Echizen no Kami. Mizuno at once ordered him to be brought to Yedo under arrest. Torii was detailed as judge to investigate the charge and speedily convicted Takashima and sentenced him to death.

At this time Ishikawa Chūnojō and Hamanaka Sanue-mon, who appear to have been officials under Torii, entered complaints against him. As a result, Torii was himself investigated and was found to have convicted a prominent officer, Abe Suruga no Kami, on a false charge and to have utterly destroyed his house. He was also found guilty of a similar offence against a Shintō priest, and to have instigated the assassination of one Inoue Dembei, a teacher of fencing, by the before mentioned Honjō, besides several

other misdeeds. He was, therefore, sentenced in 1854, to be confined under the care of Kyōgoku Nagato no Kami, the Lord of Marugame.

Takashima's punishment was commuted to confinement under the care of Ichihashi Shimōsa no Kami. In 1853 he was released and permitted to return to Yedo, where he became the instructor of the Shōgunate forces while at the same time he brought about a reorganization of the Army. He had studied under a Dutch officer whose name was Dehireniyu and who had, it is said, seen much service. In 1893 he received the posthumous rank of Senior Grade of the Fourth Rank. Torii was released after the Restoration of 1866 and after some time spent in Yedo retired to Shizuoka where he died in 1874.

22.

- P. 432. Egawa Tarozaemon (1800-1855) was a student of Dutch, and devoted himself especially to mathematics, including civil engineering and military science. He was a pupil of Takashima Shuhan of Nagasaki (see note 21), and was regarded as the foremost scholar of his age in his specialties.

He was appointed Deputy of Nirayama in Izu in 1835. He was frugal in his personal habits and proved a thoughtful and economical administrator, so that his district greatly prospered. While still retaining the office of Deputy, he was made chief ordnance officer of the Shōgun and was given charge of the defences about Shimoda in 1850. At this time he is said to have had 4,000 retainers who wore a special hat called *Nirayama kasa*.

He memorialized the Shōgun for permission to organize a corps for coast defence more or less on Western models. He also sent up a memorial with regard to the casting of heavy ordnance. In 1853 he became a member of the Shōgun's Council (Gorōjū) and in the same year was

ordered to build a gun foundry, etc. The remains of what is said to have been a reverberatory furnace of his construction are still to be seen at Nirayama.

The Shinagawa forts were also built under his supervision and were completed in 1854.

23.

- P. 461. Hagura Geki (1790-1862) was a son of the *Daikwan* or (Deputy) of Ōsaka. He studied under the famous Koga Seiri a Confucian sage patronized by the Saga clan. Hagura served as *Daikwan* (Deputy) in various places. He was a man of great moderation, disliking display of any sort. In 1838 he was sent to the islands off the coast of Izu to inspect their defences as well as their economic condition. He was later promoted to be head of the secret service. In 1843 he was sent on a tour of inspection to Ōsaka, and to the Tajima silver mine. During his stay in Ōsaka, he secured from the houses of Kōnoike and Kashima large sums of money for the Shōgun, much to the financial relief of the authorities. Shortly after his return he was retired from office and kept a prisoner in his own house. The reason for this treatment is not clear, but it is assumed to be due to his allying himself with Egawa and Takashima in the matter of coast defence. (See notes 21 and 22).

24.

- P. 434. Koga Kotarō (1787-1847) a Confucian scholar patronized by the Shōgunate.

25.

- P. 434. Tachihara Nintaro, (1784-1840) a painter and chirographist of Mito.

26.

- P. 435. Mizuno Echizen no Kami, Tadakuni (1792-1851)

was *Daimyō* of Hamamatsu and was appointed one of the Gorōjū (Councillors) of the Shōgunate in 1834. Ieyoshi, the twelfth Shōgun, had such confidence in him that he practically committed the entire administration to his charge. From 1841 onward he tried to introduce great reforms, and to foster frugality on the part of all classes. This movement is still referred to as the Tempō reform movement. His measures though well intentioned were not always intelligent and ended in failure, chiefly, perhaps, because he relied upon unfit agents.

The following story whether true or false illustrates the common opinion of the time regarding Mizuno's thorough-going efforts. It is said that the Shōgun was fond of flavoring his stewed fish with ginger sprouts. One day the fish came on without the accustomed flavor. The Shōgun complained and asked his attendants the reason. The latter replied that it was due to Mizuno's efforts to foster frugality. He had, the story goes on to say, forbidden the cultivation of ginger, regarding it as a luxury.

The Shōgun then said he remembered having a conference with Mizuno on the general topic of luxuries, and had expressed his assent to their prohibition; but he had no idea that that would deprive the people of ginger sprouts.

It is said that when this story became current, it suggested to the dissatisfied party that the reform movement did not have the full assent of the Shōgun, and from that time onward that party grew until finally Mizuno was retired and Abe Ise no Kami succeeded to his office and influence in 1843. Mizuno again entered the Council, but retired in 1845.

Yedo. He was the one concerned in the trial of Watanabe and Takano.

28.

- P. 435. The other was Katsu Awa no Kami, (1823-1899) who took the leading part on the Shōgun's side in preparing the way for the Resoration. He was regarded by the late Dr. Mishima as the ablest man of his age. It was largely due to his efforts that the Restoration was accomplished so quietly.

29.

- P. 444. Suzuki Shunzan, a *samurai* of the Tahara clan (1800-46), originally studied medicine under the famous Confucian scholar Hirose Tansō. He was a friend of his fellow-clansman Watanabe Kwazan, and at the latter's suggestion studied military science under Takano. He published two books which were eagerly read by his contemporaries, namely Sanhei Kwatsuhō, a Treatise on the Tactics of the Three Branches of Military Service, and Kaijō Kōshūn Ryakusetsu, a Brief Treatise on Naval Matters. At the time of the so-called Opium War he was much excited by the defeat of China and worked earnestly to awaken interest in national defence.

30.

- P. 450. Abe Ise no Kami Masahiro, was originally a *hata-moto*, but while still young was appointed a member of the Council (Gorōjū). In 1853 when the American Envoy (Perry) arrived, and the Shogunate officials agreed to his request for a treaty, Abe was sorely indignant and gave himself up to a life of dissipation and died in 1857,

31.

- P. 451. Otsuki Shunsai (1805-62) was a *samurai* of the Sendai clan. In his youth he went to Yedo and becoming

interested in the new learning moved on to Nagasaki where he was brought in contact with Siebold. On leaving Siebold he returned to Yedo and established himself as a physician and won no small fame. In 1854-5 he published a book entitled *Iū sō Sagen* (A few Words Concerning Gunshot Wounds). On offering the manuscript to the Superintendent of Medical Education for publication, it was declined on the ground that it was substantially a foreign book, but owing to the urgent pressure of Egawa, it was accepted and published. Subsequently he was appointed to an office similar to that of the modern 'dean' in the Shōgun's School of Western Medicine.

Otsuki also was of great service in helping on the vaccination movement.

32.

- P. 459. Date Munenori (1790-1889) also called Shunzan was *Daimyō* of Uwajima in the province of Iyo, in the island of Shikoku. At his death he was granted the Senior Grade of the Second Rank.

33.

- P. 461. Shimazu Nariakira, was usually called, as in our text, Saihin (1809-58). When in 1846 a French man-of-war touched at the Loochoo Islands, he was sent to Satsuma as his father's, i.e., the *Daimyō's* substitute and in 1851 he became his father's successor. In 1869 a national shrine of special rank was built in his honour and in 1901 he was accorded posthumous honours of the highest rank. Although he was *Daimyō* but eight years, yet because of his great ability and energy he was able to inaugurate and carry through great and important reforms in the local administration of his province, Satsuma, as well as to render great service both to the Shōgun and the Emperor.
- In 1852 a Russian man-of-war appeared in the bay-off

Kōbe and Ōsaka and caused great excitement. Shimazu at once gathered a considerable force at Fushimi for the protection of the Emperor.

He had acquired, as the text indicates, considerable knowledge of Western affairs, and when the French man-of-war appeared at the Loochoos he made up his mind that the time had come for opening the country to foreign intercourse; but fearing that confusion might arise from a too sudden change of the age-long policy of seclusion, he planned to propose the opening of the Loochoos and to hold all intercourse, diplomatic and commercial, through those islands. However, since he was at the time simply the heir and moreover was more or less suspected by the Shōgun's ministers, he felt unable to move in the matter. He then gave himself to the manufacture of ordnance, and is said to have cast 794 cannon of various caliber among which some are said to have carried balls weighing 200 pounds avoirdupois.

Saihin is said to have been able to read and write the Dutch language and as noted in the text, one author reports that he had seen a Dutch letter written by him; but there may be some doubt whether the so-called Dutch letter was not merely a romanized writing which was really Japanese. He did make some use of the Roman letters in his correspondence, but it does not appear to have been more than an interesting *tour de force*.

The following is a specimen from a collection of his writings recently published.

Sate sononoti wa ikagasolo ia sakugitu wa samusani te togisolo te hilu go wa iolosiki iosi sakuia tiuu en kontioo ikagani soloia kuwasiku uketamawari takusolo. Samukitoki husaganu teatewa korenakusoloia. Kamille waater tukawasisolo mata ili iooni soolawaba itigitu maeni moositukawasu besi. Kuslinokoto Okamla e moosi tukawasi solokoto gozasoloue ioku uketamawalu besi. Kotoni ioleba

nainai sonohoono ksui bakali tugooitas agesolo ioonimo
 nalu besi kuwasikikotowa Okamulaioli moosbesi saooni
 aleba nanio agesoloia wuketamawali takusolo.

nigatu miika

Saihin left no son of his own but adopted as his heir a son of his half-brother Saburo. In view of the great services rendered by the family, and of Shimazu Saburo in particular, two princely Satsuma houses were created at the time the new peerage was established, one in succession to Saihin, the elder family, and the other in succession to Saburo.

34.

- P. 461. Fujita Tōko, also Toranosuke, (1804-54) was a famous Confucian scholar of Mito and an earnest advocate of the Imperial rights. He was also noted as an adroit-fencer. He travelled about seeking to foster a spirit of loyalty to the Emperor. He left many poems and essays, some of which are still well-known. In 1889 he was promoted posthumously to the Senior Grade of the Fourth Rank. At the time of the great earthquake, while helping his lord out of his palace he was struck by a falling beam and killed.

35.

- P. 461. Sakuma Shōzan, also called Keinosuke (1810-64), was a *samurai* of the Matsushiro clan of the province of Shinano. In 1839 he came up to Yedo and attached himself to Watanabe and Yanagawa. He was convinced that the new learning must be diligently cultivated. He was especially interested in the construction of coast defences, the casting of ordnance, etc., and himself invented a musket which he claimed secured a velocity three times greater than that of Western arms. These muskets were adopted by the Tosa, Satsuma, Choshū, and Hizen clans. In 1841 his lord Sanada became a member of the Council

of the Shōgunate and took Sakuma as his counsellor. The following year, he prepared a memorandum explaining eight requisites for national defence. (1) Building of forts; (2) Prohibition of the export of copper; (3) Construction of warships; (4) Education of naval officers; (5) Practice in naval manœuvres; (6) Public education; (8) Reform of laws; (8) Plans for the discovering and utilization of men of special ability. This memorandum was not accepted. At this, his clan lord resigned from the Council and Sakuma returned with him to his province. He was a hard student in spite of great poverty during his early student years and prepared a Vocabulary of Dutch words which was offered to the authorities for publication, but was declined. He made a tour of inspection of Awa and Sagami and grieved over the inadequacy of the coast defences. On his return to Yedo he prepared a memorial giving his views of the necessity and method of strengthening them; but it received no attention.

When Perry arrived at Uraga, he went down to inspect the situation and reported to his clan lord, who at once ordered him to assemble the clan retainers in Yedo and drill them. It was at this time planned to purchase a warship from Holland. Sakuma accordingly urged that a body of men be selected to go to Holland and bring the vessel to Japan; but the authorities would not hear of the scheme. On Perry's second visit, Sakuma came to Yokohama and the *Daimyō* of Kokura and Matsushiro were charged with guarding the place. The noted Yoshida Shōin was an officer in the guards and it is said did not sleep for a week on account of his zeal for the service.

Sanada at the instance of Sakuma strongly opposed the original plan to open Shimoda and urged that Yokohama be substituted. In this he appears to have been supported by the lord of Mito.

Yoshida Shōin, as is well known, went on board one of

Perry's ships and asked to be taken to America; but Perry refused and handed him over to the officials. Unhappily there was found in his luggage a Chinese poem written by Sakuma which led to Sakuma's arrest and imprisonment. Three months later he was released and returned to Matsushiro. He was urgently invited by both the clan lords of Tosa and Choshū to come to their provinces as teacher and lecturer, but he declined. The Shōgun Iemochi in 1863 called him to Kyōto where he manfully raised his voice against the anti-foreign party. Later he was appointed to the command of the Ōsaka forts, but declined, and advised that a foreigner be employed.

When (1864) the Mito *samurai* flocked to Kyōto to present a memorial urging the Emperor to issue an edict banishing foreigners, Sakuma set out to present a counter memorial through Prince Yamashina; but he was cut down by the hostile party. In 1889 he was promoted posthumously to the Senior Grade of the Fourth Rank.

36.

- P. 461. Kawaji Toshiakira (1796-1868) was an officer of the Shōgunate. For a time he held a subordinate position in the department of Shrines and Temples, but in 1835 when the insurrection broke out in Tajima with the view of overthrowing the ruling *Daimyō*, Sengoku of Izushi, Kawaji was selected to pass judgment against the contestant, also named Sengoku, and gained great repute by his decision. He was an intimate associate of Fujita Tōko of Mito.

It is not without interest to note his opinion of Sanada of Matsushiro as indicated by a question to Fujita, which is recorded by a biographer. It was to this effect; "Since the Lord of Mito has such an intelligent insight into questions of state, why is it that he does not associate himself with Sanada of Matsushiro?"

Kawaji was appointed *Kanjobugyō*, the chief fiscal official, and was sent in 1853 to Nagasaki to meet the Russian envoy. As a result of the conference, the envoy returned to Russia without receiving any encouragement. On Kawaji's return to Yedo, he was surprised to learn that Perry had not been peremptorily sent away, but had met with decided encouragement.

The next year he was deputed to meet Perry and is reported to have favored opening ten ports to foreign trade. He was also deputed to meet the Russian envoy the same year (1854) and the original treaty was based upon the agreement then arrived at.

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